

## SENATE.

THURSDAY, May 24, 1900.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. W. H. MILBURN, D. D.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore resumed the chair.

The Secretary proceeded to read the Journal of yesterday's proceedings, when, on request of Mr. CARTER, and by unanimous consent, the further reading was dispensed with.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Journal will stand approved.

## ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore announced his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution; which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

A bill (S. 124) regulating permits for private conduits in the District of Columbia;

A bill (S. 1243) for the relief of the owner or owners of the schooner *Bergen*;

A bill (S. 3473) for the relief of Corinne Strickland;

A bill (S. 4048) to amend an act regulating the inspection of flour in the District of Columbia, approved December 21, 1898;

A bill (H. R. 2156) for the relief of Oliver M. Blair, administrator of Thomas P. Blair, deceased;

A bill (H. R. 6634) to enlarge the powers of the Department of Agriculture, prohibit the transportation by interstate commerce of game killed in violation of local laws, and for other purposes;

A bill (H. R. 6876) providing for the transfer to Post 39, Grand Army of the Republic, at Lawrence, Mass., of certain guns now in possession of Battery C, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia;

A bill (H. R. 8369) to detach the county of Concho from the western judicial district of Texas and attach the same to the northern judicial district of Texas, and for other purposes;

A bill (H. R. 9711) making appropriations for fortifications and other works of defense, for the armament thereof, for the procurement of heavy ordnance for trial and service, and for other purposes;

A bill (H. R. 9879) to detach certain counties from the United States judicial district of northern California and to annex such counties to the United States judicial district of southern California; to divide said southern district of California into two divisions, and to provide for the holding of terms of court at the city of Fresno and city of Los Angeles;

A bill (H. R. 10538) making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901;

A bill (H. R. 11081) to provide for the holding of a term of the circuit and district courts of the United States at Superior, Wis.; and

A joint resolution (H. J. Res. 255) to print the annual reports of the American Historical Association.

## ESTATE OF JOHN S. SAMMIS, DECEASED.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the assistant clerk of the Court of Claims, transmitting a certified copy of the findings filed by the court in the cause of Egbert C. Sammis, administrator of John S. Sammis, deceased; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Claims, and ordered to be printed.

## MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. W. J. BROWNING, its Chief Clerk, announced that the House had passed the following bills:

A bill (S. 557) for the relief of Thomas Rosbrugh; and

A bill (S. 2883) to change the characteristic of Cape Cod light, Massachusetts.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the reports of the committees of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House of Representatives to the following bills:

A bill (S. 207) granting an increase of pension to Margaret E. Van Horn;

A bill (S. 517) granting a pension to Nancy E. Neeley;

A bill (S. 1619) granting an increase of pension to Ella Cotton Conrad; and

A bill (S. 1781) granting an increase of pension to Julia MacN. Henry.

The message further announced that the House had passed the following bills; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

A bill (H. R. 3369) to put in force in the Indian Territory certain provisions of the laws of Arkansas relating to corporations, and to make said provisions applicable to said Territory;

A bill (H. R. 10869) for the relief of the Medawakanton band of Sioux Indians, residing in Redwood County, Minn.; and

A bill (H. R. 11719) amending section 5270 of the Revised Statutes of the United States.

## PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore presented petitions of members of the Ex-Slave Mutual Relief, Bounty, and Pension Associations of Vicksburg and Warren, in the State of Mississippi, praying that all ex-slaves be granted a pension; which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. TELLER presented a memorial of the Chamber of Commerce of Denver, Colo., remonstrating against an appropriation of \$200,000 being made to continue the work of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of sundry wholesale merchants of Colorado, remonstrating against the enactment of legislation providing for the use of alum in the manufacture of baking powders; which was referred to the Committee on Manufactures.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Salida, Colo., and a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Pueblo, Colo., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in Army canteens, etc.; which were referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also presented a petition of the congregation of Unity Church, of Fort Collins, Colo., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines; which was ordered to lie on the table.

He also presented a memorial of the Trades Assembly of Victor, Colo., remonstrating against the passage of the so-called desert-land bill; which was referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

He also presented a petition of the Boulder County League of Fourth-Class Postmasters, of Lafayette, Colo., praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the Postal Laws and Regulations; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

Mr. CHANDLER. I have received from Mr. M. W. Gilbert, assistant secretary of the National Baptist Convention, dated Charleston, S. C., a petition signed by N. B. Sterrett, W. P. Carolina, pastor of St. Luke's African Methodist Episcopal Church, and 16 other pastors of South Carolina, in which they say that the political conditions existing in South Carolina demand the serious attention of the country and require suitable legislation for the protection of a majority of the citizens of the State in the exercise of their constitutional prerogatives. The petitioners call attention to the speech of the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. TILLMAN] in the Senate February 26, 1900, and they ask for such legislation as will enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. They ask for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conditions of the franchise in South Carolina.

With this statement of the language of the petition I ask that the names of the signers may be printed in the RECORD, and that the petition be referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Hampshire asks unanimous consent that the petition and the names be printed in the RECORD.

Mr. CHANDLER. Not the petition. I have made a statement of the petition, and I ask that the signatures be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the signatures were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

W. P. Carolina, pastor St. Luke African Methodist Episcopal Church.

M. W. Gilbert, pastor Central Baptist Church.

George C. Rowe, pastor Battery Congregational Church.

H. T. Spencer, South Carolina Methodist Episcopal Conference.

H. Dart, pastor Main Street Presbyterian Church.

J. E. Beard, Laurel Street African Methodist Episcopal Church.

A. G. Townsend, pastor Centenary Methodist Episcopal Church.

D. Brown, pastor of Olivet Presbyterian Church.

F. C. Ferguson, pastor Reformed Episcopal Church.

H. H. Matthews, pastor Methodist Episcopal Church.

S. S. Youngblood, pastor First Baptist Church.

J. A. Robinson, pastor Baptist Church.

N. B. Sterrett, D. D.

J. A. Brown, Methodist Episcopal Church.

O. D. Robinson, pastor Mount Zion Church.

G. V. Clark, pastor Plymouth Congregational Church.

J. F. Page, of Methodist Episcopal Church.

L. Ruffin Nichols.

Mr. PENROSE presented a petition of the Central Labor Union, American Federation of Labor, of Erie, Pa., praying for the adoption of certain amendments to the postal laws; which was referred to the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads.

He also presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, of Berwyn, Pa., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in any post-exchange, canteen, or transport, or upon any premises used for



military purposes by the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. PLATT of New York presented the petition of E. B. Morris, master, and H. H. Goff, secretary, of the New York State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, praying for the adoption of a sixteenth amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the disfranchisement of United States citizens on account of sex; which was referred to the Select Committee on Woman Suffrage.

He also presented a petition of the War Veterans and Sons' Association, of Brooklyn, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation giving preference to veterans in every public employment in the civil service of the United States; which was referred to the Committee to Examine the Several Branches of the Civil Service.

He also presented a petition of the Crockery Board of Trade of New York, praying for the enactment of legislation increasing the salary of examiners at the port of New York from \$2,500 to \$4,000; which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

He also presented a petition of the Niagara County Farmers' Club, of Hartland, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation giving State authority to control the sale of imitation dairy products; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

He also presented a petition of Federal Labor Union, No. 7549, American Federation of Labor, of Watertown, N. Y., praying for the enactment of legislation to regulate the pay and hours of service of attendants at Government Hospital for Insane in the District of Columbia; which was referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

Mr. HARRIS presented a petition of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the congregations of the Congregational and Methodist Episcopal churches and the Church of Christ, of Burlington, Kans., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors in any post exchange, canteen, or transport, or upon any premises used for military purposes by the United States; which was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

Mr. BARD presented a petition of the county convention of San Diego County, Cal., praying for the enactment of legislation to prohibit the importation or sale of intoxicating liquors in the insular possessions and Territories of the United States, and also for the reenactment of the anti-canteen law; which was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. PETTIGREW presented the petition of James Seldon Cowdon, of Washington, D. C., praying that the Mississippi River Commission be abolished; which was referred to the Committee on Commerce.

#### LEASING OF GRAZING LANDS.

Mr. CARTER. I present to the Senate for reference certain resolutions adopted by a meeting at Salt Lake City on the 18th of April, 1900, which meeting was participated in by the governors of Utah, Wyoming, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Montana, the governors of Washington and Idaho, and other persons, protesting against the passage of a certain bill pending before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry which contemplates provision for the leasing of the public lands of the United States for grazing purposes.

I took occasion prior to this meeting, indeed before any provision was made for it, to call attention to the bill in the Senate, and in so doing made the statement, which I believe is generally concurred in, that no such legislation as the bill contemplated would meet with favor in either branch of Congress according to my view. Since that statement was made the Interior Department has in the most emphatic manner recommended that the bill be reported for indefinite postponement. In conformity with that report from the Department, I understand that the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry has recommended the indefinite postponement of the bill. But in view of the high authority from whence these resolutions come, I request that they be referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolutions will be so referred.

#### ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE NICARAGUA COMPANY.

Mr. MORGAN. I present a certified copy of the act of incorporation of the Nicaragua Company, another one of the New Jersey corporations, the fourth one, dated on the 11th day of May, 1900, and I ask that it may be printed and referred to the Committee on Inter-oceanic Canals.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The paper will be referred as requested.

#### CLAIMS AGAINST NICARAGUA, ETC.

Mr. MORGAN. I present an official letter from the Secretary of State, in regard to the claims against the Government of Nicaragua and other governments, which is so highly creditable to the Administration and to the Secretary, and so important to claimants, that I ask that it may be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the letter will be read.

The letter was read and ordered to lie on the table, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington, May 23, 1900.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 14 last, inclosing one to you from Dr. Earl Flint, of Rivas, Nicaragua, requesting information as to the status of the claims of American citizens against Nicaragua.

You call attention to the antiquity of some of these claims and the injustice done the claimants by the long delay in their settlement, and you express the hope that Nicaragua will be held to just account to our people in the matter.

The subject of bringing to a final settlement claims against Nicaragua, some of which have remained unsettled for a period of over forty years, is one that has received the careful consideration of the Department, even before its receipt of your letter.

Not only these but other claims of a meritorious character against other governments have received similar consideration. For example, the old Spanish and Cuban claims, claims against Colombia, and still others.

The Department has given prompt attention to all current claims and business, and, as far as possible, it has taken up and adjusted other claims of long standing. More would have been accomplished in this respect had it not been for the multiplicity of novel and difficult questions arising during the last three years. As soon as it is possible to do so, it is the purpose of the Department to bring to settlement, in some form, every meritorious claim of an American citizen against a foreign government, even though it may be one of long standing.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

HON. JOHN T. MORGAN,  
United States Senate.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

Mr. KENNEY, from the Committee on Post-Offices and Post-Roads, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4163) for the classification of clerks in the first and second class post-offices, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 5508) granting an increase of pension to Jennie C. Taylor; and

A bill (H. R. 5647) granting a pension to Amanda Hurd.

Mr. PETTUS, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6344) to remove the charges of desertion from the records of the War Department against Frederick Mehring, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 1606) to remove the charge of desertion from the military record of John C. Carroll, alias John T. Johnson, submitted an adverse report thereon, which was agreed to; and the bill was postponed indefinitely.

Mr. BATE, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 1136) for the relief of parties for property taken from them by military forces of the United States, reported it without amendment.

Mr. JONES of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the amendment submitted by Mr. CARTER on the 18th instant, relative to one month's extra pay for employees of the Senate and House of Representatives, intended to be proposed to the general deficiency appropriation bill, reported favorably thereon, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed; which was agreed to.

Mr. GALLINGER, from the Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 8498) to amend an act entitled "An act authorizing the reassessment of water-main taxes in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved July 8, 1898, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

He also, from the same committee, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4425) to regulate the practice of homeopathic pharmacy in the District of Columbia, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. CAFFERY, from the Committee on Commerce, reported an amendment relative to an appropriation of \$25,000 for improving or altering dredge or dredges for use in South Pass, Mississippi, intended to be proposed to the sundry civil appropriation bill, and moved that it be referred to the Committee on Appropriations and printed; which was agreed to.

Mr. TALIAFERRO, from the Committee on Pensions, to whom were referred the following bills, reported them severally without amendment, and submitted reports thereon:

A bill (H. R. 3526) granting a pension to James M. Ellett; and

A bill (H. R. 10060) granting an increase of pension to Winefred M. Goins.

Mr. HAWLEY, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 8925) to authorize the detail of an officer of the retired list of the Army as adjutant-general of the District of Columbia militia, reported it without amendment, and submitted a report thereon.

Mr. SEWELL, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to



whom was referred the bill (H. R. 11538) making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, and for other purposes, reported it with amendments, and submitted a report thereon.

#### HISTORICAL ARCHIVES AND PUBLIC RECORDS.

Mr. PLATT of New York, I am directed by the Committee on Printing, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4603) to provide for the investigation of the historical archives and public records of the several States and Territories, and of the United States, with a view to their preservation by publication, to report it with amendments, and I ask unanimous consent for its present consideration.

The Secretary read the bill; and by unanimous consent the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, proceeded to its consideration.

The first amendment was, on page 1, line 4, to strike out the word "directed" and insert "authorized and requested;" so as to make the bill read:

*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the American Historical Association be, and it is hereby, authorized and requested to investigate the character and condition of the historical archives and public records of the several States and Territories, and of the United States, and the provisions which have been made by law for the preservation and publication of the same, and to report to Congress, through the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, the results of such investigation, together with suggestions of such legislation as the said American Historical Association may deem necessary and proper; and that the sum of \$5,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated to the said American Historical Association, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for defraying the expenses of such investigation and report: *Provided,* That no member of the said American Historical Association shall receive any compensation for his services in connection with the said investigation and report other than the reimbursement of such expenses, including clerical assistance, as shall be necessarily incurred in the prosecution of the work.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment was to add to the bill the following additional proviso:

*And provided further,* That the said American Historical Association shall submit with their report an itemized statement of the expenditures incurred in the prosecution of the work provided for in this act.

The amendment was agreed to.

The bill was reported to the Senate as amended, and the amendments were concurred in.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

#### INVESTIGATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

Mr. JONES of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. THURSTON on the 18th instant, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the Committee on Indian Affairs be authorized, either by full committee or such subcommittees as may be appointed by the chairman thereof, during the coming recess of Congress to visit and investigate the several Indian reservations, Indian schools supported in whole or in part by the Government, or any reservations where, in the opinion of said committee, it may be necessary to extend their investigations.

Second. That said committee or subcommittee shall have the power to send for persons and papers, to administer oaths, and to examine witnesses under oath touching the matters which they are hereby empowered to investigate, and may hold their sessions during the recess of the Senate at such place or places as they may determine, to employ stenographers and such clerical assistance as may be deemed advisable; and the necessary and proper expense incurred in the execution of this order shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of said committee.

#### THE COMMITTEE ON INTEROCEANIC CANALS.

Mr. JONES of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. MORGAN on the 14th instant, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the expenses of the hearing before the Committee on Interoceanic Canals on the 11th of May, 1900, be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate, including the travel and per diem of witnesses, and the services of a stenographer and typewriter.

#### ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION.

Mr. JONES of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. PENROSE on the 18th instant, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the Committee on Immigration be, and it hereby is, authorized to employ an assistant clerk, to be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, at the rate of \$1,440 per annum, until otherwise provided for by law.

#### ASSISTANT CLERK TO COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. JONES of Nevada, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred the resolution submitted by Mr. HALE on the 18th instant, reported it without amendment; and it was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

*Resolved,* That the assistant clerk to the Committee on Naval Affairs be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate, at the rate of \$1,440 per annum, until otherwise provided by law.

#### TIMBER AND STONE IN INDIAN TERRITORY.

Mr. THURSTON. I am directed by the Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 10665) to provide for the use of timber and stone for domestic and industrial purposes in the Indian Territory, to report it back favorably with certain amendments, and I ask for its present consideration.

The Secretary proceeded to read the bill.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I object to the present consideration of the bill. I think it will lead to much discussion.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota objects, and the bill will be placed on the Calendar.

#### STATUE OF GEN. ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Mr. WETMORE, from the Committee on the Library, reported the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Printing:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),* That there be printed and bound, in the form of eulogies, 13,025 copies of the proceedings in Congress upon the reception and acceptance of the statue of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, presented by the Grand Army of the Republic, of which 4,000 shall be for the use of the Senate, 8,000 for the use of the House of Representatives, 1,000 to be delivered to the committee of the Grand Army of the Republic on the Grant Memorial, and the remaining 25 copies, bound in full morocco, to be presented to Mrs. Julia Dent Grant; and the Public Printer is directed to procure a photograph of said statue and a photograph likeness of General Grant to accompany said proceedings.

#### BILLS INTRODUCED.

Mr. FOSTER introduced a bill (S. 4828) granting an increase or pension to Norman Stewart; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. PENROSE introduced a bill (S. 4829) granting a pension to Moses P. Osborn; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. COCKRELL introduced a bill (S. 4830) to correct the military record of Ira J. Paxton; which was read twice by its title.

Mr. COCKRELL. I present, to accompany the bill, the petition of Ira J. Paxton, of Company I, Eighth Regiment Missouri State Militia, praying for the correction of his military record, together with affidavits of Amos Paxton, William H. Lord, George W. Murphy, Hugh B. Paxton, William B. Charlton, and F. M. Harlan. I move that the bill and accompanying papers be referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. TURLEY introduced a bill (S. 4831) granting a pension to John Laffey; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. MASON introduced a bill (S. 4832) to correct the military record of Oscar B. Knight; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.

He also introduced a bill (S. 4833) granting an increase of pension to Elias D. Strunk; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying paper, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 4834) granting a pension to Otto Haltnorth; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Pensions.

He also introduced a bill (S. 4835) for the relief of George Seymour and others; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

Mr. WETMORE introduced a bill (S. 4836) granting an increase of pension to Phebe Babcock; which was read twice by its title, and, with the accompanying papers, referred to the Committee on Pensions.

Mr. McCUMBER introduced a bill (S. 4837) to provide for a commission to treat with the Gros Ventre, Mandan, and Arickaree Indians; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

Mr. TELLER introduced a bill (S. 4838) to provide for the holding of a term of the circuit and district courts of the United States at Grand Junction, Colo.; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

#### REGENT OF SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

Mr. CULLOM. I introduce a joint resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The joint resolution (S. R. 127) to fill a vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution was read the first time by its title and the second time at length, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the vacancy in the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, of the class other than members of Congress, shall be filled by the reappointment of Andrew D. White, a resident of the State of New York, whose term of office has expired.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered as in Committee of the Whole.

The joint resolution was reported to the Senate without amendment, ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.



ELIZABETH L. W. BAILEY.

Mr. GALLINGER submitted an amendment proposing to appropriate \$10,519.20 to pay Elizabeth L. W. Bailey, of Washington, D. C., administratrix of the estate of Davis W. Bailey, deceased, the amount of an award made and filed in the supreme court of the District of Columbia, etc., intended to be proposed by him to the general deficiency appropriation bill; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

NORTH AMERICAN COMMERCIAL COMPANY.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I submit a resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, requested to inform the Senate what disposition has been made of the appeal of the defendant in the case of *The United States vs. The North American Commercial Company*, made in the United States circuit court, southern district of New York, against a judgment rendered by said court in favor of the United States April 27, 1893, which appeal was carried to the United States circuit court of appeals; also, that the Secretary inform the Senate what amount is now due the Treasury of the United States, under the order of the court above mentioned, from the North American Commercial Company for rental, taxes, and bonus on seal skins taken under the terms of its lease of the sea islands of Alaska; also what number of seal pups, if any, have starved on the islands in Bering Sea during the seasons 1898 and 1899, and whether the practice of branding seals is still pursued and what has been the effect of the branding of seals in preserving seal life.

The Senate, by unanimous consent, proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. CHANDLER. It should be a direction and not a request. I move to strike out the word "requested" and to insert "directed."

Mr. PETTIGREW. I accept that modification.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be so modified.

The resolution as modified was agreed to.

ALICE V. COOK.

Mr. GALLINGER. I submit a concurrent resolution and ask for its present consideration.

The concurrent resolution was read, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That the President be requested to return to the Senate the bill of the Senate (S. 2344) granting a pension to Alice V. Cook.

Mr. GALLINGER. Mr. President, that there may be no misunderstanding about this matter, I desire to state that this pension bill proposed to grant a pension of \$25 a month. It was reduced to \$12 per month, but I am informed by the Commissioner of Pensions that the beneficiary is now drawing a pension of \$12 per month. So this act would be of no benefit to her, and hence the bill is recalled for reconsideration.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED.

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs:

A bill (H. R. 3369) to put in force in the Indian Territory certain provisions of the laws of Arkansas relating to corporations, and to make said provisions applicable to said Territory; and

A bill (H. R. 10869) for the relief of the Medawakanton band of Sioux Indians, residing in Redwood County, Minn.

The bill (H. R. 11719) amending section 5270 of the Revised Statutes of the United States was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CIVIL-SERVICE EXAMINATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following resolution, submitted by Mr. GALLINGER on the 22d instant, coming over from a previous day:

*Resolved*, That the Civil Service Commission is hereby directed to furnish the Senate, at the earliest practicable day, information as to the number of persons examined, under the direction of said commission, for appointment in the public service during each fiscal year since July 1, 1895, the number who passed the required examination each year, the number who received appointments, the number who were dropped from the eligible list because of not having received appointment within one year after successfully passing the required examination, and the number now on the eligible lists, designating the different classes of eligibles.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask that that resolution may lie on the table subject to call.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Hampshire asks that the resolution may lie on the table subject to his call. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following resolution submitted by Mr. PETTIGREW on the 22d instant, coming over from a previous day:

*Resolved*, That the Committee on Privileges and Elections be discharged from the further consideration of joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of Senators of the United States, and that said joint resolution be reported to the Senate and placed upon the Calendar for consideration.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to have the resolution lie over, not losing its place, with the right to be called up.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Subject to the Senator's call?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes; at the end of the morning business. I want it to be so that I can call it up.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from South Dakota asks unanimous consent that the resolution may lie on the table subject to call. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

QUARANTINE REGULATIONS.

Mr. VEST. I ask unanimous consent for the consideration of the bill (S. 4171) to amend "An act granting additional quarantine powers and imposing additional duties upon the Marine-Hospital Service," approved February 15, 1893.

This is a bill making certain amendments to the quarantine law. It is reported unanimously by the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine. All the objectionable features of the bill, or those that were in controversy, have been eliminated, and it is absolutely necessary that the bill shall be considered now in order that it may become a law at the present session of Congress.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Missouri asks unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill indicated by him. The bill will be read.

The Secretary read the bill.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the present consideration of the bill?

Mr. TILLMAN. This is such an important matter that, as I have not had an opportunity to examine it, I shall have to ask that the bill may go over.

Mr. VEST. If the Senator will permit me, I have a dispatch here from Porto Rico to the Surgeon-General of the Marine-Hospital Service, stating that it is absolutely necessary that this legislation shall be had. The bill does not have a single objectionable feature in it. It is agreed to by all the boards of health, including those from the Senator's own State. It is the unanimous report of the committee. It simply gives the Marine Hospital Corps, under which alone we can operate during the present year, for there is no time now to make any new law, the power to administer oaths, which they ought to have had long ago, and the power to exclude smuggling vessels and fishing smacks that come within the quarantined districts, especially in Florida, and are not exempt, and which surreptitiously hold communication with the shore. There is not one single objectionable feature in the bill.

Mr. TILLMAN. The Senator from Missouri is undoubtedly entirely honest in this matter, and I do not think for a moment that he is misstating it; but still it is such an important measure to my State that I must have an opportunity to examine the bill before I can consent to its passage.

Mr. VEST. The health officer at Charleston agreed to it. He was examined by our committee at a public hearing. We examined every health officer from all the principal cities, including Charleston.

Mr. TILLMAN. I am not guided by the health officer at Charleston. I am guided by my sense of duty and by my obligations to the State as a whole, and I insist that I must examine the bill. I will facilitate its passage if I see nothing objectionable in it, but I must insist that it shall go over for a time, at least. The Senator can call it up later in the day, as soon as I have had a chance to read it and see what it means.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Objection being made, the bill will resume its position on the Calendar.

LYDIA STRANG.

Mr. ALLEN. I ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the bill (H. R. 7812) granting a pension to Lydia Strang.

Mr. BACON rose.

Mr. ALLEN. It will not lead to any discussion at all.

Mr. BACON. If it will not lead to debate, and if it will not be taken as a precedent, I will not object; but the Senator will perceive that if all unobjected cases are now brought to the attention of the Senate the morning hour will be consumed.

Mr. ALLEN. This is an urgent bill. The beneficiary is sick.

Mr. BACON. On the statement of the Senator I will consent in this case, hoping that no Senator will consider me discourteous in refusing to extend a similar courtesy to him upon a like application.

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVALS.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. O. L. PRUDEN, one of his secretaries, announced that the President had on the 23d instant approved and signed the act (S. 906) to provide an American register for the steamer *Esther*, of New Orleans.



The message also announced that the President of the United States had on this day approved and signed the following acts:

An act (S. 1066) granting an increase of pension to Margaret B. Shipp; and

An act (S. 1890) granting an increase of pension to Sarah E. Treadwell.

#### INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. THURSTON. I ask that the conference report on the Indian appropriation bill may be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the conference report.

The Secretary proceeded to read the conference report on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses upon the bill (H. R. 7433) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair is informed that the conference report has been read in full to the Senate, and appears in the RECORD. The question is on agreeing to the report.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I find that on page 48 of the bill amendments numbered 60 and 61 were disagreed to, the Senate conferees receding. These two amendments increased the appropriation for the Indian Insane Asylum in South Dakota from \$15,000 to \$20,000. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs came before the Committee on Indian Affairs and stated that with this increase a stone fireproof building could be built, and that without it it could not be. I should like to know the reason why this provision was dropped out in conference under the circumstances; or whether any further information regarding it has been secured by the conference committee not within the knowledge of the Committee on Indian Affairs?

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, your conferees in the matter of additional appropriations for buildings and other matters provided for by the Senate amendments succeeded in securing the consent of the conferees on the part of the House to all amendments of that character of the Senate, with the exception of \$25,000 for a building at Fort Lewis, Colo., of \$2,000 to three different points in South Dakota, and of \$5,000 in Idaho.

All I can say further is that the committee found it impossible to secure an agreement with the House conferees on any other basis than that which we have reported. We stood out stubbornly for all these amendments, and at one time we thought we were successful in securing the consent of the House conferees to the amendments of the Senator from South Dakota, but later it was found impossible to do so.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Then there was no special reason urged why this should be stricken out, but it was simply stricken out because it was the desire not to spend any more money. Was that the argument?

Mr. THURSTON. It is probable the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT] or the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. JONES] can answer more fully on that matter than I. After we had nearly completed our conference I was absent from the city for a time, and these particular items were disposed of by the other members of the committee.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Mr. President, I do not know that I can state fully the objections which were made by the House conferees, and I do not know that I ought to state them if I could; but I know that we struggled with the House conferees until struggling was no longer of avail, and the only way we could retain the amendment at all was by a reduction. The committee of conference had this bill, I think, for three weeks. We had conference after conference, and finally in order to get an agreement we had to recede in some matters, and this was one of them.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. What particular amendment is referred to?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will state to the Senator from Arkansas that the amendment in controversy is a reduction of the amount agreed to by the Senate for enlarging or completing the Indian insane asylum in South Dakota. I want to know why that item was stricken out, inasmuch as the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had informed the Senate committee that with this increase he could build a fireproof stone building, which was thought a very desirable thing to do, and without it he could not.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The amendment was resisted by the House conferees on the ground that there was no necessity for increased appropriations; that there was enough carried in the bill as it was, and they were not willing to make the appropriations any larger.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Did the conference committee get any further information from the Department on the subject?

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. Nothing further than the statement that the additional amount would be necessary to authorize a stone fireproof building instead of a brick building; but the arguments presented on the part of the Senate conferees did not sat-

isfy the House conferees that there should be an increase in the appropriation, and they refused to agree to it.

Mr. PETTIGREW. There is another item I want to inquire about. The House provided for \$6,000 to put in a water supply at the Flandreau Indian school. The Senate struck it out. I see the Senate conferees have receded, and therefore that item remains in the bill and there is to be a separate water supply at this school. The reason the Senate struck out the House provision was because this school is adjoining the town of Flandreau. The town of Flandreau has a water system; they have connected their mains with the school; and they are furnishing fire protection as well as water to the school. In the face of that fact it is proposed to build a plant at a cost of \$6,000, which, in my opinion, will not furnish fire protection, but which probably will furnish water. I should like to know what good reason can be given why that should be insisted upon.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President—

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. With the permission of the chairman of the committee, my recollection about that matter is that the school was being furnished by a water company at Flandreau adjoining; but it was insisted by the conferees that the price paid for water was very exorbitant, and that, as the school was at the mercy of the water company, it was better that the school should have an opportunity to put in its own plant unless it could obtain reasonable terms from the water company at Flandreau, so as to give them the discretion either by negotiating a better agreement or by putting in their own water.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, this provision does not give any such discretion:

Water rent, \$1,500; for permanent water supply, \$6,000.

There is no water company at Flandreau, but the city put in its own waterworks. There are 350 scholars at this school, and the mayor of the town informs me that the school uses more water than the entire town, which is a very small place of about 1,000 inhabitants; that the school is improvident in the use of water, and yet the charge is but \$1,500 a year. Coal in that country is worth \$4 a ton. If we put in a plant, we must have an engineer, and we must, if we have fire protection, have one night and day; then we must buy the coal to run it, and we will absorb more than \$1,500, in addition to the interest on the \$6,000 which goes into the plant, besides the wear and tear of the plant, the constant renewals, repairs, etc. It seems to me to be an exceedingly improvident provision. The Senate conferees ought to have insisted upon adhering to the action of the Senate.

I think, also, if the conferees had notified me of the fact that they could not secure an agreement, when the actual facts were placed before the conference committee this trouble would have been avoided. I think this is unjust to the town of Flandreau, a town of a thousand people, which has put in a water system at a cost of \$25,000 and connected it with this school, so as to furnish fire protection as well as water. They have an abundant pressure, so that they can throw a stream over any building in the plant, and it seems to me unjust for the Government to go on and build a plant now, to discard and throw away the pipes which the town of Flandreau has laid. This plant was largely put in because the school was there. The water rent charged was not exorbitant. I do not think the Senate conferees ought to have yielded this point. It is a mile from the school to the town. Water mains were laid from the town to the school, and at the end of one year for the Government arbitrarily to come in and put in a plant, which will cost the Government more to maintain and will not give so good service, it seems to me is bad economy and bad management.

Mr. THURSTON. Just a word, Mr. President. It was the opinion of the Indian Department that the water rent at the Flandreau Institute was entirely too high, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had endeavored, in various ways and at various times, to secure a reduction of this water rent. My recollection is that it was originally \$1,250.

Mr. PETTIGREW. One thousand dollars. I will state that the Commissioner never did try to secure a reduction, because Congress always fixed the rent at \$1,000, and so he had nothing to say about it.

Mr. THURSTON. The Commissioner advised us that the water company—

Mr. PETTIGREW. It is not a water company. It is the town that owns the plant.

Mr. THURSTON. Well, the town, or whatever it is. The Commissioner believes that because they had the power to do it they raised the water rent to an unfair and unconscionable figure.

During the consideration of this matter by the Committee on Indian Affairs, before the Senate acted upon the bill, we endeavored by wire to secure an arrangement from the authorities of the town of Flandreau for \$1,250 water rent. That arrangement was refused. If that had been granted at the time, there is no question as to what the conferees would have done. We would have



agreed to let the water rent stand at that amount; but feeling that the Government was really, as they say on the street, being "held up" in this matter, we decided to yield to the judgment of the House conferees.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I will say in that connection that this school had 150 pupils, and when it paid \$1,000 a year for water rent it was a year's rent for 150 pupils; but we wanted connection with the water system of the town, and the Government was glad to secure it, because it gave fire protection; but they have increased the school, they have more than doubled it, and there are now 350 pupils. Therefore \$1,500 a year is not as high in proportion as the old rent which we paid. I still think it is an improvident provision and ought not to have been agreed to.

Mr. JONES of Arkansas. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated that the expense for water would be very materially reduced by getting in this water plant. The responsibility is with him. If he fails to reduce the cost of the water supply by putting in this plant, of course he will be accountable for it; but if, on the other hand, he can materially reduce the expense of water to the school by putting in this plant, he will be entitled to the credit for it. All the responsibility rests upon him.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, it seems to me the responsibility is with Congress, for about the time he fails to do it Bryan will be elected President and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs will go out of office. Therefore it seems to me the responsibility rests on Congress and not on the Commissioner.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I know there is no particular propriety in discussing this report after the committee has reached an agreement, for I suppose we shall be obliged to accept it. I believe, however, that if I had had an opportunity to say to the conference committee some things I have said to some members of the committee when I understood they had agreed to leave the Fort Lewis item in the bill, I believe it might have been left in the bill. This item was indorsed by the War Department. The statement was before the committee, showing that there was great necessity for this increase of the buildings for the purpose of meeting the demands upon that school, which is a very successful school, one of the most successful in the United States. We simply defer doing what we have professed we were intending to do, to put within the reach of the Indians opportunities of education. There is no reason in the world why that provision should have been stricken out.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to call the Senator's attention to the statement of the chairman of the committee that the items stricken out of the bill were from Colorado, South Dakota, and Idaho. Everything else was agreed to. It seems to be the tendency not to spend any money in those States until a little later in the year.

Mr. THURSTON. Mr. President, that statement of the Senator from South Dakota is, I will not say unfair, but it creates an unfair impression. We did leave in the bill other increases for each one of those several States.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I do not want to say anything unfair of the chairman of the committee, because he is a very fair man, but I understood him to say the reductions were in those three States.

Mr. THURSTON. The only Senate amendments for increased appropriations for buildings, etc., that we lost in conference were in the three States I have named, but in those States we also saved other appropriations which had been put on the bill in the Senate. There certainly was no purpose either on the part of the conferees of the House or of the Senate to discriminate in favor of or against any particular State.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President—

Mr. THURSTON. I will say to the Senator from Colorado that I believe his amendment ought to have remained in the bill, and the committee—I think the Senator will take my word for it—on the part of the Senate did everything in its power and held this bill in conference a long time in order to retain these various amendments.

Mr. TELLER. I am not blaming any member of the conference committee on the part of this body, at least; but I think it is rather unfortunate that the reduction should have been made in providing school facilities. There is a provision left in the bill for one of the schools in Colorado, not as large as it ought to have been, but it may answer the purpose. It is perhaps the most meritorious, as it is now the most needy, of the schools. I have no doubt the committee did what they thought to be a proper thing, but I regret very much that they could not have retained the additional appropriation for that school for the Indian children.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Another item in the bill is in regard to the Indian school in South Dakota. The Senate put on a provision—

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (at 1 o'clock p. m.). The Senator from South Dakota will please suspend. The Chair lays before the Senate a resolution; which will be read.

The Secretary read the resolution reported by Mr. CHANDLER, from the Committee on Privileges and Elections, April 23, 1900, as follows:

*Resolved*, That William A. Clark was not duly and legally elected to a seat in the Senate of the United States by the legislature of the State of Montana.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. CHANDLER] is not now in his seat, and I ask that the resolution may be temporarily withheld.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut asks unanimous consent that, while retaining its place, the resolution may be temporarily laid aside.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Until the Senator from New Hampshire comes in.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and that order is made.

#### INDIAN APPROPRIATION BILL.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 7433) making appropriations for the current and contingent expenses of the Indian Department and for fulfilling treaty stipulations with various Indian tribes for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, and for other purposes.

Mr. PETTIGREW. The Senate committee placed an amendment on the bill increasing the appropriation for the Indian school at Chamberlain, S. Dak., \$10,000, to build a dormitory. In the State of South Dakota we have about 22,000 Indians, and the school facilities are not sufficient to accommodate them. It seems to me that if any item ought to have remained in the bill, that one should have remained in it. In some of the States, I believe, they have more facilities than are necessary for the Indians within their borders. I can see no good reason why increases should be made in adjoining States, as they have been made in this bill, and this item stricken off, unless the purpose be to take the Indians out of our State to educate them. We do not object to taking the Indians out of the State to be educated; we would be glad to have the whole Indian population go if they would never come back; but, inasmuch as they are a part of us and are ultimately to become citizens of our State, we feel that we have a right to have them educated within the borders of the State, and that such an amendment as this ought not to have been stricken out.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

#### CUBAN INVESTIGATION.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I ask that the resolution relative to the receipts and expenditures in Cuba may be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate the resolution submitted by the Senator from Georgia on the 11th instant.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the resolution submitted by Mr. BACON on the 11th instant, as follows:

*Resolved by the Senate*, That the Committee on Relations with Cuba is hereby directed to investigate and report to the Senate as early as practicable regarding the moneys received and expended in the island of Cuba, by, through, and under the officials and representatives of the United States, both civil and military, from the date of the occupation of Cuba by the military forces of the United States until and including the 30th day of April, 1900.

Said committee shall investigate and report as to receipts, as follows: From customs, from postal service, from internal revenue, from all other sources, specifying the details as far as practicable, and particularly the places where and dates within which said amounts were collected or received, and the officer or officers collecting and receiving the same, as well as the law or authority under which said amounts were in each instance so collected or received.

Said committee shall investigate and report as to the expenditures of the said amounts so received, the necessity and propriety thereof, specifying in classes and in detail so far as practicable said expenditures, and particularly the work, services, or property for which said expenditures were made, and the value thereof; also the law or authority under which each of said expenditures was made, the officer, civil or military, by whom said expenditure was authorized, and the officer, civil or military, by whom said expenditure was made, and the particular fund from which the money was taken for said expenditure.

Said committee shall also report a statement of all public works of every kind, including buildings, wharves, railroads, and all other structures built or constructed, improved, repaired, or decorated by or under the authority of any such officer, civil or military; and in each instance the cost, value, necessity, and propriety of the same, and the uses to which said buildings or structures have been put. Where said buildings and works were constructed or improvements were made by contract, or where the material used in the same was furnished by contract, the committee shall report copies of each of said contracts and the names of all parties interested in each of the same.

Said committee shall also report a statement of the personal property which was purchased or procured and intrusted to any officer, civil or military, in Cuba within said time, the cost and value of the same, and the uses to which said property has been put, and the disposition which has been made thereof.

Mr. BACON addressed the Senate. After having spoken for fifty-five minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEAN in the chair). The Senator from Georgia will suspend. The hour of 2 o'clock having



arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded in Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator from Georgia desire to conclude his speech to-day? If so, I will take pleasure in asking that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside in order to enable him to do so.

Mr. BACON. I would like very much to do so. At the same time I dislike to incommode my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], who has also an unfinished speech. But as there has been a break in his, possibly it will be an economy of time on the part of the Senate to permit me to conclude rather than to let me take a fresh start. We had an illustration yesterday from the Senator from Wisconsin showing that that course produces delay.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I ask, then, that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Connecticut? The Chair hears none. The Senator from Georgia will proceed.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, as within a few days past I addressed the Senate somewhat at length upon these resolutions, what I now shall say will not be in the nature of an elaborate discussion of the subject involved, but instead thereof a somewhat cursory discussion of some of the points which have been raised by the speech made on yesterday by the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. PLATT].

That distinguished Senator, in a very earnest and able speech, sought to present to the Senate the reasons why these resolutions should not be adopted and why there should not be an investigation by a committee of the Senate. It is true that the Senator said that for certain reasons the resolutions should be adopted and the investigation should proceed. The Senator alleged that he had reached this conclusion not because there was anything in the situation or in the facts or in the probable facts which, in his opinion, warranted and required an investigation, but because, as stated by the Senator—

The charges by way of insinuation, innuendo, rumor, scandal, and mud throwing have made it necessary that this investigation should go on.

That is the distinct ground upon which the Senator bases his consent that there should be an adoption of these resolutions and that the investigation should be had.

The Senator in the course of his argument addressed himself to what may be considered as two considerations urged by him why these resolutions are not of themselves proper and justified. In the first place, the Senator takes up the conceded fact that there has been an embezzlement of the Cuban funds and argues that, so far as that particular embezzlement is concerned, or rather the embezzlement in that particular department, there is no need of a legislative investigation, for the reason that there is now pending a departmental investigation, which is all-sufficient in itself, and, as suggested by the Senator, an investigation on the part of the Senate would not only be unnecessary, but would interfere with the proper conduct of that investigation by the Department. I read the language of the Senator:

I think, Mr. President, that we can not well interfere with the investigation which is being made by the executive department and by the Postmaster-General. To interfere with it while it is going on would defeat very likely the ends of justice.

In another part of his speech the Senator, after presenting the reasons why the embezzlement in Cuba in the postal department does not make necessary a Congressional investigation, and that in fact it would be improper to make it, referring to the matters charged and alleged relating to extravagance and waste and misappropriation and jobbery in the expenditures in other departments in Cuba, the Senator uses this language:

I have seen nothing of fact which I think renders a Congressional investigation necessary; nothing of admitted fact, nothing of proven fact, which requires any investigation, unless it be the defalcation to which I have already alluded.

Thus it is, then, Mr. President, that the Senator bases his approval of the adoption of this resolution and of the proposed investigation solely upon the ground of the statement from him, which I first read—

That the charges by way of insinuation, innuendo, rumor, scandal, and mud-throwing have made it necessary that this investigation should go on.

The speech of the Senator then leaves the issue still joined between us, as to whether or not the charges which have been made, and the probabilities of their truth, are such as to make the investigation a proper investigation, one which is called for and thereby made a duty on the part of the Senate.

Mr. President, referring for a moment to the framework of these resolutions, it will be noted that, as was developed in the discussion on yesterday, an amendment had been offered by me to the resolution previously offered, providing authority to the commit-

tee to send for persons and papers, to swear witnesses and employ stenographers, to hold its sittings in the United States and in Cuba, etc. The Senator from Connecticut thereupon indicated that the resolution, so far as it went, was agreeable to him, but desired to add power on the part of the committee to employ an expert accountant, the propriety of which I recognized, and so I agreed to it. As his amendment, with that exception, was substantially the same as the one which I had previously offered, I agreed that that should be attached as the amendment to the original resolution.

My allusion to that is to call attention to the fact that the investigation which is proposed will be one in which, however important may be expert accountant, there are other branches of the investigation much more important than that which depends upon what can be discovered by an expert accountant. As I had occasion the other day to say, an expert accountant can trap the plain thief, the man who taps the till, the man who takes money, and who seeks to conceal the theft by making no entries or by making fraudulent entries; but the man who steals money in that way is not the man who is the great plunderer of public funds.

A man who steals money in that way steals his thousands; but the man who secures that which he is not entitled to out of the public Treasury through jobbery, through dishonest contracts, through fraudulent devices of all kinds, which may appear to be all right upon the books, and yet in fact all wrong as to the disposition of the money—that is the man who does not simply defraud the Government of thousands but of millions of dollars; and the great purpose of this proposed investigation is not simply to ascertain the comparatively paltry amounts which have thus been stolen in money, and which may be found by an expert accountant, but to ascertain whether or not in this expenditure of over \$14,000,000 there has been an honest and economical disposition of the money, or even in case the books do balance, and it is shown that the money was actually paid as represented by the books, whether it was honestly and economically expended, or whether any part of it was misappropriated and dishonestly applied to grossly swollen and fraudulent salary rolls, or to property not for public uses, or to the payment of fraudulently overvalued property bills, or to any jobbery or other illegal devices.

In illustration of that, Mr. President, I ask the attention of the Senate to the question involved in the post-office embezzlement to see whether or not the investigation which is being pursued by the Post-Office Department, as honest and as earnest as I concede it to be and as I believe it to be, will disclose the facts which we desire to have disclosed and made public by this investigation.

What are the things which the Post-Office Department is investigating with reference to this post-office embezzlement? It is charged that this man Neely and his confederates, so far as disclosures now indicate, or up to yesterday indicated, embezzled some \$45,000; and that was the amount stated by the Senator from Connecticut yesterday.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. For this current year.

Mr. BACON. Yes; for this current year. There may be others for the time preceding January 1, 1900, and there is every reason to believe there are. Those may also be discovered by the expert accountant and I hope will be, and I do not mean in any manner to depreciate the necessity of the expert accountant, and I think the Senator is entirely right in desiring that the power to employ an expert accountant shall be put into the resolutions. I am simply using the provision for the expert accountant as the thing which has suggested to me this comparison, and to show the vast reach necessary in this investigation, very far beyond that which can be accomplished through the aid of any accountant.

It was also stated in the afternoon papers yesterday and in this morning's papers that the intimation which we had some time ago that there might be instead of \$45,000 some \$400,000 of embezzlement through the dishonest sale of stamps may possibly be and probably is true; but conceding that all these facts will be established by the investigation by the Post-Office Department, we come to other accounts where it is necessary that there should be an investigation by a body sitting as a tribunal to examine witnesses and to have persons and papers brought before it and to search to the bottom not only the question as to whether money has been taken out of the till, not only whether the money has been stolen by the illegal sale of stamps, but whether money which appears by entries upon the books and for which they may have vouchers has been legally and legitimately and honestly and economically expended.

What are those items? I will state that I hold in my hand Document No. 177, part 2, which is a supplement to the original Document No. 177. It is a communication from the Secretary of War responding to instructions of inquiry from the Senate, and in this supplemental report there is for the latter half of the year 1899 what purport to be some eighteen or twenty different separate accounts of expenditures in Cuba, giving the matter somewhat more in detail than was found in the original report, but still in a very general way. This postal account is one of the accounts



contained in this report; that is, for the entire year 1899. Most of the accounts in the report are for six months. From January 1 to December 31, 1899, for the department of posts, the expenditures were \$612,290.38, and it is shown by other reports that the entire receipts from that department in Cuba for that time amounted to \$250,000.

As to the items of expenditure, which I submit are items that call for a thorough and searching investigation on the part of a committee either of this House or the other House—I am very frank to say that I would very much have preferred if this investigation had been undertaken by the other House, but as it has not been, we should proceed with it here—the very first item upon this account is an item which appears not only in this account, but in almost every other account in this report with wonderful frequency—"miscellaneous." "Miscellaneous, \$49,544.86." The expert accountant, and the investigation which is being proceeded with by the Post-Office Department, will disclose the fact that there were \$49,544 thus expended; but what the Senate will wish to know, and what the country will wish to know, and what the country will know, is for what was \$49,544 spent and charged up and reported to Congress simply as "miscellaneous."

Well, the next expenditure is "salaries." By the way, that is another item which appears in each one of these accounts with alarming frequency and with the utmost liberality of amount. I shall have something to say before I get through upon the subject of the amount of money which has been spent in Cuba for salaries. "Salaries, \$219,087.91." I have no doubt that those salaries were paid, but to whom were they paid, to what officers, and what services were performed by these various parties?

Now, mark you, the salaries amounting to \$219,087 are not for the ordinary employees of the Post-Office Department. They are salaries for the "department of posts." Thereafter follows an enumeration of salaries for the ordinary employees. In addition to the \$219,087 paid under the head of "Salaries—department of posts," we have these salaries:

Clerks in post-offices, \$35,672.90.  
Postmasters, \$87,364.39.  
Railway postal clerks, \$24,279.49.  
Letter carriers, \$17,927.24.

Mr. President, in those four classes we have enumerated the ordinary employees of a post-office department who execute and carry on the postal service—clerks in post-offices, postmasters, railway postal clerks, and letter carriers. Those are the men who operate the detail machinery of the postal department outside of that used in the transportation of the mails, and for the year all these officers thus operating the ordinary postal machinery of the department received only \$165,242, but in addition to that and in addition to these men who thus operate the ordinary machinery of the postal department, under the single head of "Salaries, department of posts," is \$219,087.

Now, I say that the most ordinary requirement on the part of Congress is that there shall be an investigation to know who are the people who, under the head of department of posts, have received \$219,087, when they do not include in any way clerks in post-offices, postmasters in Cuba, railway postal clerks in Cuba, or letter carriers in Cuba, or the transportation of mails, either by contract or otherwise. I state this now simply by way of illustration, because there are many other items in this account requiring investigation. It may be that an investigation will show it to be all right, but it is certainly devolving upon us to ascertain that it is all right.

Another thing. Senators say that it is not proper to interfere with the Post-Office Department in such an investigation. Here are accounts which have been for six months in the Post-Office Department, and while they had no knowledge of any embezzlement, they did have knowledge of those most extraordinary and startling expenditures, and no investigation has been made or ordered or attempted by the Post-Office Department.

Mr. President, there are other most extraordinary items. I can not stop to go through them all, because there are a great many things here, and I can only touch on a few of them hastily. Let me call attention to one—per diem. After all these salaries here is "per diem, \$17,313.89." Who authorized per diem to be paid, and to whom was it paid and of what amount? That is certainly a matter for investigation.

Carriage, harness, equipment, \$3,105.23.

For whom were the carriage and harness and equipment, and under what law? When my eye first fell upon that item I thought possibly under the head of carriage there was included provision for the carrying of the mails, but that is not true, because other items in these accounts show that it was provided for otherwise. We have here under the head of mail transportation \$14,231. We have mail wagons, \$1,085; we have star-route contractors, \$14,496, and we have mail messengers, \$1,733, etc. So that carriages and harness and equipment do not apply and are not intended to apply to the carrying of the mails, and it is a matter of investigation and proper investigation as to who has had harness, who has had

carriages and equipment, out of the public funds of Cuba as a part of the postal service in that island, and under what head there has been placed the expenditure, if any, for the horses that drew these carriages.

I wish to call attention to another matter before going on with some brief allusions to these various accounts. The original document, No. 177, on page 107, has a statement of receipts and expenditures in Cuba tabulated in brief. Under the head of receipts there are four sources of revenue enumerated—first, from customs; second, from postal service; third, from internal revenue, and fourth, from miscellaneous sources. These two documents, the original and the supplement, are made up, I presume, from exactly the same papers; they certainly ought to be; and yet there is a discrepancy of \$30,000 between the original report and the supplemental report as to the amounts of money which have been received in Cuba during the year 1899—the very direct, identical sources of revenue being enumerated in the one instance as in the other.

Now, let me give the statement. I shall include this table on page 107 in the appendix to my remarks. The total from these four different sources is \$16,346,015. In the supplemental report from exactly the same sources of revenue the amount received is put at \$16,316,500. I do not read that for the purpose of showing that \$30,000 has been stolen, but I do read it for the purpose of showing that there has been such looseness, such an absolute indifference to all the requirements in the keeping of accounts as are provided in our own Government, as calls for the most searching investigation on the part of Congress.

I will state another thing. Under the head of expenditures the same items of expenditure to the number of five are stated in the original report as are stated in the supplement, and yet I believe without exception there is no single item in the original in which the amount of expenditure is stated as the same amount that the same item is stated in the supplemental report. The items are found on page 107 of the original report and on page 2 of the supplemental report. That is another reason why there should be an investigation to understand why it is that there is this looseness. How is it that there is an utter absence of specific, accurate keeping of public accounts there which should be required everywhere, and which is required in this country?

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KEAN in the chair). Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I am not sure that I correctly heard the Senator's criticism of the schedules furnished by the War Department, but I wish to call his attention to a statement made in the report of General Brooke on page 418, being his annual report for the year ending June 30, 1899. He says, after expenditure, under the head of statement of revenue and disbursements to and including June 30, 1899, the following:

The expenditures shown above include all payments to date, August 19, as payments are yet being made on account of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899. For this reason the total amount of expenditures on statements made may be different on different dates.

I simply allude to that for the purpose of suggesting to the Senator whether the schedule from which he is reading is not one that might be modified in the manner indicated by General Brooke.

Mr. BACON. I do not know. I have two accounts sent here from the War Department not very far apart in point of time, so close together that one is sent by the Department as a supplement to the other, and the second in response to exactly the same resolution as that under which the original response was made, and in the two reports there is this marked difference between their statement of the same item in the one and in the other.

I repeat that in the revenues received from four sources named in the original report, and in the revenues named in the supplemental report as received from the same sources, and both for the year 1899, there is a difference of \$30,000. In order that I may not be misunderstood I will give Senators the pages. I refer to the items enumerated on page 107 of the original report and on page 2 of the supplemental report. I am simply calling the attention of the Senate to a few of the very many items stated in these reports which call for investigation and for legislative investigation.

Before going on, I want to call the attention of the Senate to one other matter, and that is the peculiar way in which reports are made of these expenditures. Very frequently two subjects-matter are included in the same account where there can be no legitimate relationship between the two. Why the one should be mixed with the other I am at a loss to understand. For instance we have the accounts of "Rural guard and administration." What does "administration" mean? What is "rural guard?" I say it is impossible from the inspection of the accounts rendered under the head of "Rural guard and administration" to know for what this money was spent, and that it is necessary not only that



books should be examined, but that witnesses should be examined in order that we may ascertain for what this large amount of money, \$506,162, of which, mark it, the item of salaries is \$417,813, outside of the pay roll for labor, which is \$27,570.

There are items for property, all sorts of items, without any possible indication of what they are or for what purpose the money was spent, much less any possibility of ascertaining whether even if the subject-matter was correct the prices were correct. Nothing but an investigation can disclose that fact.

Then, again, we have "justice and public instruction" put in one account. Why are justice and public instruction in one account and mixed up and sent here together?

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Because that is one of the departments.

Mr. BACON. That may be.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. That department includes both.

Mr. BACON. But they are not cognate subjects. One relates to the administration of the courts; the other relates to the schools, I presume—colleges.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. It is just like the Department over which the Secretary of the Interior presides, which has lands and pensions and patents and a variety of things in its jurisdiction.

Mr. BACON. The Department of the Interior in making its report to the Government does not put the accounts of these various things together; it separates them. That is what my criticism is; not that there is a department which had charge of these two subjects-matter, but that in making the return of money expended it does not separate public instruction from the department of justice.

"Agriculture and public works." Here, again, the same thing is found. I call attention in this connection to the fact that not only do we have public works in connection with agriculture, but we have another item of public works in connection with ports and harbors, and you will find in other accounts scattered through these items where large amounts are charged, again, to public works. Indeed, it seems that where there was a sum to be tucked away in some manner not convenient to be put under the regular head, it is put under some extraordinary expenditure, or miscellaneous expenditure, or under the head of public works.

Then we have the department of "state and government," "public works, ports, and harbors," "charities and hospitals." Then another, "aid to destitute." It would seem that "aid to destitute" would properly come under "charities and hospitals," but there is a separate department, and in each department the most enormous salary list, I will venture to say, without possibility of successful contradiction, that ever was known in proportion to the public expenditure.

Under the simple head of sanitation we have the enormous amount of \$3,052,282. According to the argument of the distinguished Senator on yesterday, because sanitation was important and something which, perhaps, had yielded most beneficial results, the question as to whether or not the money which had been expended for the purpose had been honestly expended should not be considered. Grant all that he says about sanitation; it does not relieve us of the proposition that where such an amount as \$3,052,282 has been expended under the simple head of sanitation there ought to be an investigation of it to ascertain if it has been economically and honestly expended for this purpose. In this connection I call attention to the fact that in this detailed report in which these various accounts are set out there is no report of an account for sanitation for the whole year 1899, involving this enormous expenditure of \$3,052,282, but only a partial account for the last six months of 1899, with an expenditure of \$1,688,422.84. The account for the first six months of 1899 is not given. This half year's account, among other things, includes for salaries, \$109,539; for pay rolls, labor, \$880,799; repairs, \$53,730; material, \$339,685; property, \$126,087, etc.

The same thing is true of "barracks and quarters, \$1,269,939," which is only given in the detailed report for the last six months of 1899, from July 1 to December 31, and which contains the most remarkable items. In this connection I call attention to the most remarkable fact, which of itself would require an investigation, and that is that under this call for information the War Department has in this supplemental report sent us the report as to the last half of the year 1899, and has given as a reason why it does not send a report as to the first half of the year 1899 that the reports have not been received from Cuba. With \$7,000,000 and over spent, eighteen months ago, nearly, seventeen months since that expenditure began in Cuba, the expenditure of these millions of dollars for the first six months of the year 1899 has never been returned in the way of accounts to the Government. Do these facts indicate that the legislative department can leave this matter to the investigation of the Departments? Do they indicate that we can leave it to the military authorities in Cuba? The accounts of the first six months of expenditures have not been returned to the Government, and when called upon by the Senate for the information the reply is that the accounts have not been received.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to call attention to another matter. I do not go through these matters in detail, because I intend to put these tables in as an appendix to my remarks, but I wish to call attention to several items. After all these enormous expenses under every conceivable head, with a corps of officers receiving salaries under every subdivision of business which could be imagined, we have an omnium gatherum under the head of "extraordinary expenses ordered by the military governor" with a total of the enormous sum of \$448,079.92, on page 13 of this supplementary report, a term which, by the way, could be properly applied to each of these accounts; and in it we have such items as the following:

Provincial deputation, \$23,058.78.

Can anybody tell me what "provincial deputation" means and for what purpose twenty-three thousand and odd dollars was spent under the head of "provincial deputation?" Can anyone say what the next item means—

Eventual expenses, \$31,236.25?

Then, after having had over a million and a quarter of dollars put down under the head of "municipalities," we have the account of "extraordinary expenses," in the supplemental report under the head of "municipalities' deficit," the item of \$289,673.86; and so it goes clear through with these various accounts. And then, in addition to the account of "extraordinary expenses," there is a "miscellaneous" account, with the remarkable items involving \$109,642.

As I said, I shall put the tables in as an appendix, and therefore I shall not stop now to enumerate them specially, as it would be impossible to do so.

But I do want to call attention to one thing. This is not rumor, this is not newspaper charge; but it is the report of the War Department. In Cuba, for the year 1899, it is stated in the supplemental report that the expenses for civil salaries amount to \$3,122,052.

This, however, is misleading. It will be noted, by reference to the tables on pages 14 and 15 of the supplemental report, that all of the salaries are given for the whole of the year 1899 except for the 12 items at the close of the account, beginning with the item "barracks and quarters." These last 12 items are for only six months and aggregate \$1,208,535. Assuming that the salaries in these items were as great in the other six months of the year, the same amount, \$1,208,535, must be added to the total, and when this is done, instead of \$3,122,052 as the salaries paid in Cuba in the year 1899, we have the enormous amount of \$4,330,587. This, I repeat, is the largest proportion of salaries to public expenditure that can be found in any government anywhere, certainly on this hemisphere.

Mr. President, it may assist to a realization of the exorbitance of this expenditure for salaries for one year to make some comparisons. In the remarks I submitted on this subject in the Senate last week I included a statement of the annual expenses of certain States, excluding expenditures for education and including all ordinary expenses, including payment of public debt. This Cuban salary list is greater than such expenses in each of these States, besides those of many others—in some of them several times greater—greater than the entire annual expense of each of these States including the public debt: Missouri, Massachusetts, Indiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Connecticut, Texas, Michigan, New Jersey, and Alabama. Mr. President, upon the subject of these expenses, I will venture to read something from a newspaper which possibly may not be objected to by the Senator from Connecticut on the ground that it is one which has any purpose to make campaign material, or one which for any purpose would engage in mud slinging. I read from the New York Tribune of the 22d instant, and, as the Senator yesterday was dissatisfied with the newspapers from which I read, I have thought I would to-day select some the orthodoxy of which, from his standpoint, might not be criticised. I presume the Tribune is one which he will admit to be in the orthodox column. This is what the New York Tribune, in giving a narration of this matter, relates with reference to the matter of salaries and expenditures by these people in Cuba:

WASHINGTON, May 21, 1900.

The Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Meiklejohn, to-day made public a long explanation of the partial report on Cuban receipts and expenditures sent to the Senate by the Secretary of War last week. He said that the report contained "itemized statements showing specifically and in detail all expenditures," etc. How "specifically and in detail" these "itemized statements" are indicated by such items as "repairs, \$53,730.16;" "property, \$126,087.91," and "real estate, \$38,510;" all of which appear among other items under the general heading "sanitation," covering a total expenditure amounting to \$1,688,422.84 for a period of six months.

Further on in the statement of the Assistant Secretary these remarkable and suggestive passages are found:

"The expenditures for the first six months of 1899, as audited, have not yet been reported by the military governor, but such report is nearly completed for transmission to the War Department. For the first six months of 1899 there was allotted by the military governor and paid by the treasurer of Cuba to the disbursing officers the sum of \$5,094,796.19 for the expenditures outside of executive departments, while for the last six months of 1899, as



audited and reported for such purposes, the expenditures were \$4,377,020.50. Therefore the expenditures during the first six months can not exceed the amount allotted, thus making the total possible expenditures in Cuba \$12,516,515.50 for 1899."

Now, Mr. President, that is what the Secretary of War says must be the expenditure, that it can not exceed that amount, and yet the report which is sent in here shows a balance of only \$2,000,000 in the hands of the treasurer. An expenditure of \$16,000,000 is reported to the Senate. A balance of a little over \$2,000,000 is reported and an expenditure of over \$14,000,000 alleged, which, of course, would make that a correct balance; and with the Secretary of War himself publishing the fact that under the figures there could be no sum except about \$12,000,000, it must necessarily show that the balance reported of \$2,000,000 is incorrect.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Will the Senator permit me?

Mr. BACON. Certainly; with pleasure.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I do not know that it is worth while to attempt to go into this question of figures; but if the Senator has made an examination of them, he will see that the first account to which he refers under the head of "Receipts and expenditures" is an account of receipts and expenditures for allowance by allotment to the different departments and that the second account is all the audited account, so that there may be, as with us, and probably is, money covered into the treasury which is not used from the money appropriated.

Mr. BACON. That explanation would be a proper explanation, but it does not appear from these reports. The Senator said if I would examine the figures, I have examined them. The facts may be as stated by the Senator, but they are not so reported by the Secretary of War. The table in this report is headed this way:

Statement of receipts and disbursements of public funds of the island of Cuba from January 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899.

It does not say allotments, or as allotted. It says those are the amounts received and disbursed.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If the Senator has seen—

Mr. BACON. I do not dispute the fact that the explanation may be a correct one. I am simply stating that the report does not make it that way.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. If the Senator has seen the statement made by the Assistant Secretary of War, he will see that the explanation was given.

Mr. BACON. I am very frank to say I did not see it, but I am simply taking what is reported here in the Tribune. I do not know how it escaped me, but I have not seen the statement in full; but the reports as sent to the Senate do not make the explanation which the Senator now suggests.

I understand the suggestion of the Senator to be that certain moneys having been allotted to various officers, which they have expended, but the accounts of which having not yet been audited by the Auditor, it may be true that there is in the hands of the Treasurer, as stated in this report, only \$2,260,209, and there may be about \$2,000,000 out which has been expended in the past year, 1899, of which there has been yet no audited return. I understand that to be the proposition of the Senator.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Either that, or that there is still money remaining unexpended in the hands of the different departments to which it has been assigned.

Mr. BACON. If there could be any stronger illustration of the necessity of an investigation it will be found in the fact that for eighteen months, beginning eighteen months ago, there has been an expenditure ending five months ago of which there has been no return for the first six months, the last of which expired eleven months ago.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Will the Senator permit an interruption?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Georgia yield to the Senator from Indiana?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. Has the Senator examined the annual report of General Brooke?

Mr. BACON. I have been taking the reports which have been sent to the Senate in response to the inquiry as to what have been the amounts received and expended.

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I will read him the report just before me, showing quite a large number of expenditures, submitted under the proper headings.

Mr. BACON. Does the Senator mean to say that General Brooke's accounts do not agree with the accounts which the auditor has sent to the War Department and which the War Department has sent to us?

Mr. FAIRBANKS. I said nothing whatever, except when the Senator said that no reports had been furnished, I asked him if he had examined the statements in General Brooke's annual report, purporting to be of certain expenditures.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I am going by the report that the Secretary of War has sent to the Senate. We directed him to send us a statement of all the moneys which had been received in Cuba, and to send us a statement of all the moneys which had been disbursed in Cuba, and he has professed to do so, and, I have no

doubt, has done so so far as the papers and returns in his office will permit him to do it.

Now, Mr. President, if these reports thus sent in by the receiving and disbursing officers say one thing, and the report that is sent in by General Brooke, as the military commander in charge of all this matter, says another thing, what higher evidence or necessity could there be for an investigation, and a very searching one? It may be, and I trust it will be found to be so, that the two can be reconciled; that it can be shown how one is correct and the other is incorrect, and that they may be reconciled with an honest disbursement. But, Mr. President, I am speaking of our duty to investigate it—to find out what is the truth.

The Senator said yesterday that the comparison suggested by me as to the expenditures in Cuba and the expenditures of several States in the Union was most startling as presented by me, and then the Senator went on to endeavor to show that it was not a correct statement. But before I go to that, the Senator interrupted me before I had finished reading this article from the Tribune, which I desire to complete. The article in another place says:

The fact that the auditor in Cuba furnished prior to May 16 a statement of disbursements on account of public works, ports, harbors, barracks, and quarters, rural guards, hospitals, and charities, quarantine, sanitation, etc., from July 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899, and was not then able to furnish a statement of expenditures for the same objects for the six months from January 1, 1899, to June 30, 1899, fairly justifies the inference that when the instructions of the Secretary of War to furnish the information required by the Senate resolution were received by the auditor in Cuba last January they found him utterly unprepared to do so, and that he was obliged to collect data for that purpose. Why he did not begin at the beginning of the period instead of at the end of it, if such was not the fact, is a question easier asked than answered, but an answer will probably be required by Congress. Another question to which an answer will be necessary is why the auditor could not give in January, or could not have given months before that time, a statement of the balances in the hands of the disbursing officers on June 30, 1899.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia will suspend. The hour of 2 o'clock having arrived, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The SECRETARY. A bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded in Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Does the Senator from Georgia desire to conclude his speech to-day? If so, I will take pleasure in asking that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside in order to enable him to do so.

Mr. BACON. I would like very much to do so. At the same time I dislike to incommode my friend from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], who has also an unfinished speech. But as there has been a break in his, possibly it will be an economy of time on the part of the Senate to permit me to conclude rather than to let him take a fresh start. We had an illustration yesterday from the Senator from Wisconsin showing that that course produces delay.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I ask, then, that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Connecticut? The Chair hears none. The Senator from Georgia will proceed.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, I am very much obliged to the Senate for its courtesy, and especially to the Senator from Connecticut.

Now, I will pause in reading this article from the New York Tribune to call the attention of the Senator from Connecticut to the answer that the New York Tribune gives to the suggestion made by him as to these unexpended balances. I will read the last sentence over, as I was interrupted, and possibly the Senator did not catch the purport of it:

Another question to which an answer will be necessary is why the auditor could not give in January, or could not have given months before that time, a statement of the balances in the hands of the disbursing officers on June 30, 1899.

The suggestion is made here that there is a discrepancy of over \$2,000,000 between the report as sent to us by the Secretary of War as to the amount of expenditures and as to the balance which in consequence of that error should be in the hands of the treasurer, and the Senator from Connecticut suggests that these balances are outside in the hands of these disbursing officers. The New York Tribune, not a mud-slinging paper, not a paper seeking to make capital for the campaign adverse to the party of the Senator, asks the question, Why was it, if that is true, that the auditor could not in January state what were the balances in the hands of the disbursing officers six months before then? I think the New York Tribune very properly suggests that Congress will require an answer to that inquiry. The New York Tribune goes on to say:

As a matter of fact it could have been given, unless the regulations promulgated by the Secretary of War a year ago had been ignored.

Which they must necessarily have done. It was somebody's duty to see that those regulations were complied with.



Upon the subject of expenditures in the same article there is the following statement:

The Assistant Secretary explains the heavy expenditures for labor by saying—

This is quoted now from the Assistant Secretary's statement—

"That the expenditure for unskilled native labor seems large is not surprising, when one of the objects sought to be accomplished by this Government in Cuba upon military occupation was the relief of starving people through their employment upon public works. It was our well-defined policy to feed gratuitously the absolutely helpless and starving inhabitants, and to reduce as far as possible such gratuitous relief. This was accomplished by furnishing employment to the able-bodied, thereby making them self-supporting and relieving the prevailing distress and stagnation in business throughout the island by the proper and legitimate use of the revenues upon public improvements, necessary and permanent in their character, and which will inure to the benefit of the people of Cuba."

That is the extract from the statement of the Assistant Secretary of War, and now the New York Tribune makes this comment upon that:

The expenditures on this account during the six months ended December 31, 1899, amounted to \$1,382,197.87, of which the sum of \$880,799.79 was expended for "sanitation." If the men who did the work were destitute, unemployed, and unskilled, it is not possible that they received more than \$1 (gold) each for a day's work, and at that rate it would have required 8,744 men working all day and every day except Sundays during that period to earn \$1,382,197.87, and it would have taken 5,577 men working all day and every day except Sundays from the morning of January 1 to the night of December 31 to earn the sum of \$880,799 charged to labor under the head of "sanitation."

Now, Mr. President, by the fact that the Senator from Connecticut, who on yesterday so strenuously objected or rather criticised the reading of articles from the Washington Post, does not interpose any criticism upon the loyalty of the New York Tribune to the interests of the Republican party, and does not make any suggestion that anything which appears in the columns of the New York Tribune may be set down either to a desire to manufacture campaign material against the Republican party, or be set down to the score of mud slinging, I am encouraged to read some more from the New York Tribune. I think the Senator will find that when he says that this purpose to find out what has been done in Cuba, this design by a proper and searching and exhaustive examination and investigation to ascertain whether or not the money of Cuba has been honestly and economically spent, he is mistaken in attributing it to those who desire to make campaign material against the Republican party, and he will find that the American people regardless of party intend that this matter shall be sifted to the very bottom, and that there shall be ascertained not simply whether correct books have been kept, but that there shall be ascertained whether there has been economical and prudent and honest disbursement of this fund which we have raised in Cuba, not one dollar of which, I repeat, belongs to the people of the United States, and every dollar of which belongs to the people of Cuba.

The Senator is going to find that it will not be limited as he sought to limit it on yesterday, and I can have no higher illustration of the fact than the position which is taken by the New York Tribune in bringing to the light so far as it can what is the truth with reference to this matter. Speaking of the recognition of accountability for these expenditures in Cuba, the New York Tribune of the 22d, in its story, as the newspaper phrase goes, with reference to this matter, said:

This is peculiarly true in the former case—

It had spoken both of Cuba and the Philippines, using the word "former" in referring to Cuba—

This is peculiarly true in the former case, where the United States military authorities are collecting and disbursing the public revenues of Cuba and not those of the United States. A keen sense of this peculiar relation and responsibility has already found expression in both branches of Congress in propositions to appropriate money from the National Treasury to make good the losses the Cuban treasury has sustained through the dishonesty of the agents of the United States.

I trust the Senator will listen to this:

That would in part repair the wrong, but only in part, for it already appears only too evident, even from the imperfect information now accessible, that criminal extravagance as well as official peculation and plain stealing have marked the administration of Cuban affairs in too many respects.

Take the postal service, for example, which is carried on under the magnificent and imposing name of "department of posts," under an official described by the equally magnificent and imposing title of "director-general of posts." Plain "director of posts" was not dignified enough, and so the "general" was added—whereupon the official who bore it immediately proceeded to sustain his new dignity by adding to his official staff and raising their salaries, and having his own increased to a sum which, together with his other official "perquisites," made a total exceeding the official salary of the Postmaster-General of the United States.

He also set up a carriage at a cost of several thousand dollars for the first year—to the revenues of Cuba—and his "miscellaneous" official expenditures jumped from about \$5,000 in the first half of last year to nine times that sum in the second half. The combined salaries of himself and the clerks and other employees in his office amounted to more than \$219,000 last year, which was about \$47,000 more than all the public-school teachers in the island received, and nearly twice as much as was paid in salaries in the department of agriculture and public works, and salaries there were on a generous scale. No wonder that the expenditures for salaries under the "director-general of posts" were classified by both the military governor and the auditor of the island as "extraordinary expenditures."

The sum of \$219,000 was expended on the headquarters administration of a postal service which consisted of 535 employees besides the 68 at headquar-

ters; which had 230 post-offices—fewer than there are in any State in the Union; which covered 81 mail routes of every description, with a total mileage of 4,313 miles; which had 45 railway postal clerks and 96 letter carriers, and the total revenues of which amounted to \$250,100. Of course, all the salaries under the department of posts, and many other expenses of the postal service, had to be met from the customs revenues or other sources. But the accounts of all the expenditures until within the present month were duly certified and passed by the military auditor in Cuba.

Then the New York Tribune, in substantiation of that, goes forward and sets out one of these very accounts which are in this supplemental report, which I will not now read, as it will be put in otherwise. But it has made a calculation relative to the account under the head of "Finance," and here it is published in the New York Tribune, under the head of "Finance," giving the proportion which salaries bear to all other expenditures in this particular account, and the expenditures were very large, the total expenditures in this account being \$211,292. The portion of that amount representing salaries was \$187,572.54. Thus it is seen that more than 88 per cent of the entire amount disbursed under the head of "Finance" was paid in salaries. Of "Justice and public instruction" the salaries were more than 83 per cent of the amount expended. Of "Agriculture and public works" the salaries were more than 45 per cent. Under the head of "State and government" the salaries were more than 74 per cent, and under the head of "Posts" the salaries were more than 63 per cent.

Why, Mr. President, the whole possible employment of these men thus legitimately engaged could not have reached this exorbitant amount of expenditure.

Then, putting in another table, which I will not read, because it is contained in this second supplementary report as to the disbursements for six months ending December 31, 1899, the Tribune account goes on to say:

More than 38 per cent of the total expenditures accounted for by the foregoing statement—

That is, the statement of expenditures for the last six months—

More than 38 per cent of the total expenditures accounted for by the foregoing statement are comprised under the head "Sanitation." Some of the items are: Pay rolls, labor, \$880,799.79; material, \$339,685.10; property, \$123,087.91; salaries, \$109,539.14; real estate, \$38,510; disinfectants, \$12,891.95; band stand, \$50; removing garbage, \$50; royalty on electrozone, \$724.82, and school supplies, \$23.45. It will be observed that the heading "Sanitation" covered a wide variety of items. So did the heading "Miscellaneous," which is quite a favorite among the disbursing officers in Cuba, some of whom show a tendency to repeat it. Under "Miscellaneous," as a general heading, are found rents, miscellaneous, \$14,477.44, followed by plain miscellaneous, \$572.68. "Repairs" cost \$5,027.04, and repairs to quarters, captain of the port, cost \$14,775. There was an item here also for property amounting to \$9,527.75; one of \$491.77 for material; one of \$614.08 for office supplies. Attorney's fees cost the Quartermaster's Department \$100, and lawyers' fees cost Mr. Miscellaneous an equal sum, while only \$83.25 was paid for trade journals on that account.

Among the items under the heading "Rural guard and administration" are such plain and specific ones as these: Miscellaneous, \$1,725.84; property, \$11,224.48; trade journals—for the rural guard—\$70.90; ammunition, \$19, and photographic views, \$31.50. The expenditures under the heading "Cuban census" include an item of \$26.81 for trade journals—which appear to have had a somewhat wide circulation in the Cuban accounts; one of \$402.25 for miscellaneous, and one of \$2,584.24 for property.

It may be said that such items signify nothing. The chances are that, insignificant as they may seem, they indicate a good deal that requires further investigation. The reports furnished to the Secretary of War, and by him transmitted to the Senate, show that it is utterly useless for that body to depend upon resolutions of inquiry, however carefully drawn or promptly answered, to obtain facts and information which are of absolutely vital importance to the rescue and preservation of the honor and good faith of the United States in its dealings in Cuban affairs. No satisfactory information can be obtained, nor can all the abuses and irregularities be corrected except as the result of a thorough, searching, and independent investigation by authority and means entirely independent of the officials in Cuba. If the partial and incomplete reports sent to Congress mean nothing else, they do mean and emphasize that.

Mr. President, I think that that might be considered a sufficient answer to the charge of the Senator that I have been engaged in mud slinging, for while the Senator does not mention my name, there is nobody else who has spoken on this subject, and the Senator announced in the beginning of his speech that he did not intend to oppose the resolutions, but that something that I said required an answer at his hands.

I do not intend to dwell upon the serious charge against me—certainly including me—by the Senator from Connecticut, which I have twice read to the Senate, as the reason why this investigation should proceed, but every word that I have said is in print, and I challenge that Senator or any other Senator to put his finger upon a single word in that speech which is disrespectful to anybody, much less a word which can be properly classed under the head of "mud slinging."

I understand the Senator classifies as extravagant and as inuendo and as unfounded charges and as mud slinging the various matters which have been brought to the attention of the Senate and of the country with reference to these alleged improper disbursements in the island of Cuba. I do not think that in any way that can be regarded as a legitimate criticism. It is the duty of Senators to bring to the attention of the Senate anything which, in the opinion of such Senators, may require an investigation; and so far from being the object of criticism, the official who does it should be commended.



It seems that it is not only in this Chamber that there is objection to the suggestion that there has been improper expenditure and dishonest misappropriation; it seems it is not only in this Chamber that there is condemnation of the making public of any such charge. This man Neely, who so far appears to be the principal, but not the only offender, seems to have been brought into his trouble by some one who committed what some people consider an impropriety in "peaching," in disclosing the fact of Neely's dishonesty. He had a young man whom he seems to have befriended, by the name of Rich, and he turned against him in the way of evidence, and that fact has brought down upon him condemnation by Neely's friends. I read, Mr. President, at the risk of incurring the criticism of the Senator from Connecticut for again reading from the Washington Post, an account which the Washington Post gives of the condemnation which has been visited upon Rich because he "peached" on Neely. It is headed "The ingratitude of Corydon." It seems this young man Rich had the classic name of Corydon—Corydon Rich. The article in the Post is headed "The ingratitude of Corydon," and is as follows:

We are bound to confess to a deep and yearning sympathy with the party workers of Muncie, Ind., who have been so cruelly disturbed over the conduct in Cuba of a former fellow-townsmen. These honest and devoted gentlemen may be mistaken in supposing that the scandal could have been averted but for him. Privately, we think they are. But there can be no sort of doubt as to the question of principle—a question which can be stated in its most compact form by quoting a Muncie special to an Indianapolis paper:

"The feeling against Corydon Rich, who, it is said, confessed to the defalcations in the Cuban postal service, is very strong here, and he is roundly condemned for peaching. He is under obligations to Neely for his appointment, and his confession is pronounced by his political friends the basest ingratitude."

This man Rich has stupidly confessed. His front name is Corydon, but we venture to assert that no true Indiana Phyllis would now so much as look at him. It was a dastard thing he did. Neely had been his guide, philosopher, and friend. Neely had put him in the way of opulence. Taken warmly under Neely's wing, and in a position to see which way the cat would jump, this Corydon should have known how to rake his hay in the hot sunshine of the Cuban snap and stuff his wallet while the orb of day enveloped him in its stimulating warmth. He should have been grateful to Neely. He should have tapped the till while his master squeezed the safe. We quite agree with the spirit of the Muncie special. Rich made the mistake of his life in "peaching" on his benefactor. His duty was to work the opportunity for all that it might be worth, and to thank Neely for the chance.

Ingratitude, thy name is Rich! There is no meaner thing in life. Barrahas, Ali Baba—all the most engaging thieves of history—have felt thy dastard fang. It is with tyrants, emperors, and kings as with pirates, brigands, and freebooters. Marat had his Corday. Neely has his Rich. But it is infamous, just the same. The hot tear fries upon our cheek. The tentacles of one's very soul must reach out and try to grapple with their woe.

Mr. President, if the party who sent that dispatch to Indianapolis had been familiar with the parliamentary language which is sometimes used in the United States Senate, instead of all that elaboration in the dispatch, he would have simply said that Rich had been guilty of "mud-slinging."

In regard to this Habana railroad—and I shall not detain the Senate very much longer—at the time my former remarks were addressed to the Senate I had no information of a definite character as to what that road had cost. I did use the words quoted in the speech of the Senator from Connecticut yesterday by way of illustration, but was careful to say that I did not know the cost, but had heard that it was enormous. Since then the statement is made that the road has cost \$342,611. I take it from a press dispatch, but I understand that it also is found in the statement of the Assistant Secretary of War. As to whether or not that was a proper expenditure, of course is a matter upon which evidence must be heard; as to whether it was a proper construction as well as whether it was a proper expenditure must also be ascertained. I know nothing about it. I believe, however, from my limited knowledge of railroad construction, that it must have been a most exorbitant expenditure for something which appears to me, from all I can learn, was very little needed.

There is another fact connected with that railroad to which I want to call the attention of the Senate so as to show how we are keeping up with expenditures in Cuba. I venture to say—and if I am in error I ask members of the committee to correct me—I venture to say that up to six weeks ago there was not a member of that committee of our relations with Cuba who knew the fact that this three hundred and forty-odd thousand dollars had been expended in Cuba for the construction of this road, or that the road had been constructed. I will venture to say that when the subcommittee of the Committee on Cuban Relations went to Cuba and went to Habana they were not informed of the fact—much less called upon to inspect the road—that they were not informed of the fact that such a road had been built; and I venture the assertion that when the members of that subcommittee returned to Washington not one of them brought with him the knowledge of the fact that such a road had ever been built at the public expense, yet it has been built for over a year.

Mr. President, whenever one has some embarrassment in addressing himself to the legitimate point of an argument, it is sometimes a device to put up a man of straw and belabor him and with great muscularity and vehemence; and on that line I presume it was that on yesterday the Senator from Connecticut read with very

great indignation the fact that it had been charged that Senators here had some connection with the building of that railroad, and that another high ex-official also had; thereby implying that that charge had been in the remotest degree ever insinuated, or ever contemplated, or ever thought of by anyone who was instrumental in asking for this investigation. Mr. President, I need not say that I had nothing of the kind in contemplation, and that I had never heard a whisper connected with either of the distinguished gentlemen, and that I needed no disclaimer from either one of them to satisfy me that that was the utterance of some idle scandal monger. No disclaimer on their part is required; nobody expects it, and nobody wants it.

But, Mr. President, the merits of the question whether or not there should be an investigation upon legitimate lines are not to be disparaged by such a discussion as the Senator evidently implies, necessarily implies, that one of the injustices of the proposed investigation was that which involved the names of these gentlemen, an utterly baseless and unwarranted insinuation. Sir, there is no issue in this discussion as to these distinguished gentlemen, except the issue which the Senator from Connecticut has made between himself and this man of straw which the Senator has himself set up, and which he has so valorously knocked down.

But there are some things about that railroad that I will not hesitate to speak of—not that railroad in particular, but railroad construction in Cuba—as a matter which requires an investigation; and as I have been so fortunate as to escape condemnation in bringing to the attention of the Senate what the New York Tribune says, I will try it once more.

Mr. President, when I addressed the Senate last week I called attention to the fact that one Robert P. Porter had been sent to Cuba on a mission connected with the revision of the tariff for Cuba; that during five and a half months this Mr. Robert P. Porter had not only drawn a salary of \$500 a month, but that he had put in an expense account, and had been paid it, for over \$500 a month besides his salary, and that in about five months and a half he had drawn over \$3,100 as an expense account—nearly \$20 a day for every day, Sundays being excluded. Mr. President, that may have been all right; but that will not be the subject-matter of investigation, I presume, under these resolutions, if adopted, for the reason that that money as to the salary of Mr. Porter and as to his expense account—\$20 a day, very nearly—was paid out of the \$50,000,000 emergency fund that the people of the United States, through their representatives in Congress, voted two years ago, when we stood in the presence of grave national peril. It seems now that we appropriated more than was necessary.

I am speaking of the fact—I am not trying to intimate, do not intimate, and disclaim any such intention—that the money for his legitimate payments ought not to have been paid out of this fund, because it was after the war was over, when the fund was not needed for the purpose for which it had been originally devoted, and, of course, an expenditure in that line had no particular ground for objection. It is a question of amount solely which I am speaking of, and I am simply alluding to the fact that this can not be investigated although it was expended in Cuba, because it was expended out of a different fund.

But the matter to which I call the attention of the Senate in regard to Mr. Porter's mission to Cuba is this: There has recently been organized in New Jersey a syndicate—this is not stated by me from ever having seen the charter, but is reported to me upon evidence which I understand to be entirely credible—a chartered syndicate known as the Van Horn syndicate, with a capital of \$8,000,000, to construct and operate railroads in Cuba as well as in some other island, I understand, possibly in Porto Rico, and it is also stated as a fact—one which I do not personally know, but which I also believe—that this Mr. Porter is now one of the officers or employees of that company, and that he has gone to Europe with officers of that company upon business of the company.

I repeat I can not make that as a charge, because I do not know it to be true, but I do make it as a charge of what is generally reputed and understood to be true. I now repeat what the New York Tribune says on that subject, premising that the particular point is this, in order that Senators may apply the statement here as it goes along, that the original tariff upon railroad equipment in Cuba, railroad iron and all other matters entering into the construction and operation of railroads, was 40 per cent ad valorem; that Mr. Porter in revising that tariff reduced it to 10 per cent, and that immediately subsequent thereto was his connection with this company. Now, here is what the Tribune says about it. Whether true or not, personally I do not know. It is certainly, however, matter brought to the attention of the Senate in such a way as to entitle it to respect and to require investigation:

The keen and jealous scrutiny—

That is from the New York Tribune of to-day—

The keen and jealous scrutiny which is being brought to bear these days on the administration of Cuban affairs is indicated by the attention the last revision of the Cuban tariff is receiving at the hands of Senators and others



who are especially interested in such subjects, and who have enjoyed an opportunity to examine the work. Some of the comments and criticisms heard are far from complimentary to the author of the revised tariff, Robert P. Porter, who was the Superintendent of the last United States Census and is now connected in some capacity with a powerful and wealthy railroad syndicate, which it is generally understood has recently obtained control of most of the railroad franchises in Cuba and is maturing extensive and comprehensive plans for the construction and reconstruction of important lines of railway in Cuba, the carrying out and development of which plans will involve the investment of large amounts of capital and the expenditure of very large sums of money for railway supplies and materials, machinery, locomotives and other rolling stock, etc., virtually all of which must be imported from the United States, England, Canada, and elsewhere, inasmuch as Cuba produces few or none of the articles required.

Mr. CHANDLER. Mr. President, will the Senator allow me?

Mr. BACON. Certainly.

Mr. CHANDLER. I suppose the Senator intends to put in all the article, whether he intends to read it or not?

Mr. BACON. All the article.

Mr. CHANDLER. All this article from which he is now reading?

Mr. BACON. I am going to read every line and word of it. It is not necessary for the Senator to anticipate me.

Mr. CHANDLER. No; I was going to ask the Senator a question.

Mr. BACON. Well, just wait until I get through with that article, please?

Mr. CHANDLER. I will wait until the Senator reads the whole of it.

Mr. BACON. I will read the whole of it. The Senator need not think I will omit any of it. I have too much estimate for the character and dignity of this authority to omit any of it.

The names of some of the active promoters of this important and extensive enterprise were published some time ago, and the list included some of the ablest and most widely known railway capitalists in the United States, England, and Canada—men whose names are a sufficient guaranty of sound and adequate financial backing, wise judgment, long experience, and practical and skillful management in behalf of any enterprise they may undertake. Neither money nor brains will be lacking in the Cuban railway enterprise, and the prospect appears to be that the men who are to control it will thereby have also absolute control of the entire railway system of the rich island of Cuba. The exact nature of Mr. Porter's connection with this great syndicate is not known here, but it is inferred from certain newspaper publications some weeks ago when he was in London in company with two of the most active promoters of the enterprise, whose visit to and negotiations in that city were described as exceedingly satisfactory and successful, that his relation was a pretty intimate one.

#### AN INTERESTING COINCIDENCE.

What has all this to do with the Cuban tariff? That is a proper and pertinent question, the answer to which, while not complete, reveals an interesting coincidence or sequence of events, in which Mr. Porter, as special commissioner to revise the tariff on the one hand, and the organizers and promoters of the big railroad syndicate on the other hand, were both equally interested, but from seemingly opposite points of view. The object of the former, as indicated in his official instructions and explained by himself, was so to revise the tariff as to readjust the rates with a view to reducing those on the articles of universal or general necessity and consumption required by the people, a large proportion of whom were persons of very small or moderate incomes, without reducing the total revenues of the island below the sum annually required to carry on the Government. This was a laudable as well as a desirable object. Of course one of the prime objects of the capitalists, who were about to expend millions of dollars on the construction, reconstruction, and general rehabilitation of the railroads of Cuba, was to get the necessary materials, supplies, machinery, rolling stock, etc., into Cuba as cheaply as practicable. None of those articles were manufactured or produced in Cuba, except to an insignificant extent, if at all, and therefore the tariff duties, whatever they might be, would come out of the pockets of the great syndicate. Of course, therefore, it would make a considerable difference to them whether the tariff was 40 per cent or only 10 per cent. In fact, the total duty on \$1,000,000 worth of railroad materials, machinery, and supplies at 10 per cent ad valorem would amount to \$900,000 less than it would if the rate were 40 per cent.

#### LOW DUTIES ON RAILROAD SUPPLIES.

Now, Special Commissioner Porter, who devoted a portion of last winter to the work of revising the Cuban tariff, finished the work in time to have it approved by an order dated March 31, 1900. The new tariff was not to be put into operation, however, until June 15, and the new rates were not made public until the middle of the current month. The average rate of duty on railroad supplies, materials, machinery, etc., under the Cuban tariff framed by Special Commissioner Porter and put into operation on January 1, 1899, amounted to an equivalent ad valorem rate of 40 per cent. The revised average rate on those articles, which is to become operative on June 15 and continue in force for the ensuing twelve months, is equivalent to an average ad valorem rate of 10 per cent. Between the date of approval of the revised tariff and the date of its promulgation, and after Mr. Porter is supposed to have severed his official relations with the Government, he made the voyage to London in company with the railway capitalists before referred to. Doubtless the desirability of railroad development in Cuba may be unselfishly urged, both there and in this country, and a strong argument in favor of substantial reduction of the duty on railroad supplies might be made in the interest of the island. Mr. Porter's friends likewise may be able to furnish a satisfactory explanation of his connection with the affair, but thus far they have not done so, and until they do it is likely to be regarded as rather unfortunate that the author of the Cuban tariff should appear to enjoy such close relations with the syndicate that is directly benefited by this reduced rate of duty.

Now I will hear the question of the Senator from New Hampshire.

Mr. CHANDLER. I wished to ask the Senator if he had any information that Mr. Porter was connected with this railroad beyond what is stated in that article.

Mr. BACON. I have no information except that the fact has been stated to me personally by those who profess to have infor-

mation. Personally I do not know it. I could not go upon the stand and prove it.

Mr. CHANDLER. The Senator must have noticed that there is hardly any direct charge here that Mr. Porter is connected with it. It says:

The exact nature of Mr. Porter's connection with this great syndicate is not known here, but it is inferred from certain newspaper publications some weeks ago, when he was in London in company with two of the most active promoters of the enterprise—

That he was interested.

I do not know but that he is; but in justice to Mr. Porter it should appear that there is not one particle of evidence that he is, except that he went to London on the same steamship with some of the promoters of this enterprise; and if a man becomes a partner with everybody he takes an ocean voyage with, we are all of us liable to be in ticklish partnerships.

Mr. BACON. The Senator who makes trans-Atlantic voyages every year may be in that trouble, but I am not. I will state this in reply to the Senator. If Mr. Porter were on trial on the evidence furnished in this article, and by the evidence which has been given to me outside of it in the way simply of a general statement, I would be obliged to acquit him, because specific proof would be required to convict him; but if I am considering the question as to whether or not a charge is to be investigated, the evidence need not necessarily go to the extent of that which is requisite for conviction, but is only required to be sufficient to raise a reasonable suspicion or probability of guilt.

Mr. CHANDLER. I desire the Senator to allow me to say that I agree with him in that particular. I should be willing to make an investigation upon the statements contained in the article, and I propose to vote for an investigation; but I wanted attention called to the fact that the statements of the Tribune as to Mr. Porter's supposed connection with this company are almost all innuendo.

Mr. BACON. I will ask the Senator, as this is to be printed, if the statement will not speak for itself as to whether it does go beyond the degree which the Senator specifies, and whether it is necessary to call attention to it.

Mr. CHANDLER. Yes; I think attention should be called to it.

Mr. BACON. I have no objection to attention being called to it.

Mr. CHANDLER. I think attention will be called to the absence of evidence by reason of this colloquy.

Mr. BACON. I take occasion to say I hope it may be proved to be untrue, because if true it does not simply affect Mr. Porter. It affects the Senator from New Hampshire and it affects myself, and it affects every other man who cares for the honor and purity of the public service of the United States, and I do most sincerely care for it. I wish most fervently that everything which has been charged with reference to speculation and embezzlement in Cuba, as to misappropriation, as to wastefulness, as to extravagance, could all be shown to be untrue.

The Senator from Connecticut stated as broadly as can be stated, in his speech yesterday, that the purpose of this investigation is to manufacture campaign material. Did the Senator from Connecticut weigh his words when he said that? What right had the Senator to charge a Senator upon this floor with insincerity in asking for this investigation?

When he said that, did he recollect the fact that if these charges were true they brought disgrace not only upon those who are concerned but more or less upon every citizen of the United States; that it was a dishonor to the Government and to all of its people? Would the Senator say that a brother Senator, standing in his place in the Senate, knowing that these charges, if true, would bring disgrace upon the Government, would bring dishonor upon the public service, would be a humiliation and a shame to every citizen of the United States—would he say that a Senator would bring an accusation which if true would have such direful results and such direful influences, when he did not believe them to be true, and when his only purpose was to manufacture campaign material? Mr. President, I acquit the Senator of meaning what his words imported. I know him too well to believe that he would have such a conclusion drawn from what he said.

In this connection I wish to ask another question. If it be true that the purpose of endeavoring to ascertain the fact whether there have been dishonesty and improvidence and wastefulness and extravagance and fraud in the expenditures of the Cuban revenue is to manufacture campaign capital, which is the more creditable, to endeavor to uncover fraud, to expose embezzlement for the purpose of campaign material, or to attempt to cover up fraud, to conceal the guilty, in order that there may not be campaign material? I deny for myself that the purpose is to manufacture campaign material, and denying that for myself I accord to the Senator that his purpose is not to prevent the discovery of fraud in order that there may not be campaign material. But I submit that if it is a question of the manufacture or the defeat of the manufacture of campaign material, one who stands on the



side of the uncovering of fraud, the conviction of the dishonest, the disclosure of embezzlement, is more to be commended, even though his motive be such as he describes, than the one who will attempt the concealment of all this if only to prevent exposures which, if made, will furnish campaign material to his political opponents.

Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut, in answer yesterday to the question propounded by myself, and in answer directly to me as to when we were going to get out of Cuba, replied—I am sorry I have not the exact language before me to read, but Senators here will recollect it and the RECORD is on everyone's desk—that that day would be delayed by those who are interfering with the work of the military commander in his efforts to accomplish what is necessary in order that we may evacuate Cuba and withdraw our forces and leave the government in control of its own people. The Senator, in the same connection, said it ought to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every man who is engaged in that work. What could the Senator mean? Is it interfering with the work of the military commander in Cuba to ask that there shall be an honest disbursing of the funds raised by the revenues of Cuba? Is it interfering with the work to ask that there shall be a thorough investigation to see whether or not this has been done? What else is being done? In what manner? The Senator could not, in his reply, have had reference to anything else but the present proceedings, because nothing else was before us. There had been no mention or suggestion that anybody was making any interference in any way, and the only possible interference to which the Senator could have had reference was such interference as was to be found in this investigation, and this investigation is solely addressed to the question whether or not money has been legally collected in Cuba and whether it has been honestly disbursed.

My cheeks, figuratively at least, do burn with shame as an American citizen with the knowledge of the fact that this trust has been so grossly abused. If I know myself I would scorn myself if I could rejoice in the proof of the fact of this dishonesty because, forsooth, it might benefit the political party to which I belong. I would scorn myself if I would not rather that the opposite party should forever succeed than that there should be this humiliation, this disgrace, not only upon the Republican party but the Democratic and Populist parties, and upon every citizen of the United States. But my cheeks do not burn with shame, and the cheek of no citizen should burn with shame, who, if he has knowledge of the fact that those of his own household are unworthy, that they have betrayed a trust, will, at the expense even of having to acknowledge and share the general disgrace, seek to make disclosure of the fact and to bring the culprits to justice.

Mr. President, the distinguished and learned Senator from Connecticut said yesterday that he saw nothing in the facts outside of this particular defalcation which required investigation as to the receipts and disbursements in Cuba. The Senator is to be charged, if this resolution passes, is adopted by the Senate, with the duty, as chairman of the committee, of making the investigation. Yesterday the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. SPOONER], in the course of a colloquy with some one, said that when a man went out making a search, what he expected to see he generally found. This is true. Applying the converse of it, how can the Senator from Connecticut expect to find, as the result of his investigation, this corruption and this fraud when he has announced to the Senate, during the course of a most elaborate and earnest and able speech, after several days of investigation, that he does not believe there is anything there to find? The Senator's pride of opinion, after what he said yesterday, will be greatly shocked if the results of this investigation constrain him to report hereafter to the Senate that the administration of public affairs in Cuba had in some features at least been characterized by jobbery and embezzlement.

Mr. President, do we not face a great duty? We have started out upon a road altogether different from that which we have heretofore traveled. Conceding it to be proper that we should pursue that journey, conceding it to be proper that we should cut loose from the past, that we should enter upon a career where we shall govern distant colonies—and certainly no one can ask that for the argument I should concede more than that—if that is conceded to be true, in the presence of this first attempt and in the presence of the undenied fact of this peculation, this embezzlement, this thievery; in the presence of the strong probabilities of the truth of the charges which are everywhere, on the streets, in the halls of Congress, in the newspapers, that there has been extravagant, wasteful, dishonest expenditure of this money, not one dollar of which belongs to us; in the face of this disclosure upon the first experiment, do we not stand in the face of a great and most solemn duty? In view of what we intend to do in the future, conceding for the argument this departure to be correct, do we not stand in the face of a most solemn duty to probe this matter to the bottom; not to go into it saying we do not believe it is there, but to go into it with the determination that at all haz-

ards, not simply shall there be labor, but that there shall be with an open mind and with a determination to get the truth, an investigation which shall probe this matter to the bottom, bring everything into the light of day, vindicate the innocent, and expose the guilty?

Mr. President, there is a great horde of money seekers who are looking to those new openings as a means by which they can fill their pockets. Doubtless there are those who look to honest enterprises in Cuba; no one will question that. But outside of them there is the army of camp followers and job seekers. They do not simply look to small amounts; it is to large amounts. What a day it would have been for the Ancient Pistol, who, when a creditor pressed him to pay a debt of 8 shillings, bade him be patient and wait until he returned from the wars in France; for said he—

I shall sutler be  
Unto the camp, and profits will accrue.

But to think of 8 shillings—8 shillings in contrast with the millions!

Mr. President, the Senator from Connecticut gave a clean bill of character yesterday to the distinguished gentlemen, I will say, who have been caught in this peculation, this thievery. That reminds me to recur to one matter I had forgotten, and I am glad of the opportunity to do so.

The Senator was accusing me—probably that is strong language, but certainly by implication was putting upon me the charge that for the purpose of campaign advantage, party advantage, campaign purposes, I was willing that these charges should be brought against the civil officers of the Government; that I was discrediting the President of the United States; that I was casting imputations upon the heads of Departments. That charge was absolutely unfounded. I never named the President of the United States. I did not allude to him. I did not say a word which by innuendo or in any other way could be construed into a reflection upon him. I never have done so, and I never expect to. I may criticize the President for differences upon principle; I ought to do so where I differ from him; but I have never spoken a disrespectful word of him in the Senate. I never expect to, and I am sure I never will. Nor did I say a word which reflected upon any member of his Cabinet. I differed from the Secretary of War, not the present Secretary, but the Secretary who issued the order making what I contend are illegal allowances to officers of the Army. It is right and proper that I should do so.

When I came to the Postmaster-General I expressly exonerated him, and I asked the Senator from Connecticut yesterday to read it in connection with the sentence which he himself had voluntarily read out of the speech I made a few days ago. He declined to do so. Now I will read it. I will read the preceding sentence, which the Senator did read, and then I will read the one which I asked him to read and which he declined to read. In discussing the question as to the propriety of this investigation I said this:

Mr. President, if it were only the Post-Office Department which was involved, there might be a strong argument presented as to why this investigation should be left to the Post-Office officials, because they are a trained body of men familiar with those matters, and perhaps better capacitated than any others for a proper investigation of the facts, and if an investigation shall be entered upon by the Senate those officers must be largely used in the prosecution of the investigation. But it is not a proper thing, in my opinion, in any instance where there has been a widespread conspiracy.

That much the Senator read, and when I asked him to read the succeeding paragraph he declined to do so. It is as follows:

Mr. President, I do not wish to reflect in any manner on the Postmaster-General. It is unfortunate for him that the first disclosure is of misappropriation in his Department. I have not the slightest doubt he has selected men he thought to be honest. The fault has been in the absolute form of government, the dictatorship, the aping of the colonial system of monarchical governments, under which will ever reek frauds and corruption. There is no man who could occupy the position of the Postmaster-General and endeavor to carry on such a department in Cuba under this system of absolutism, dictated by military orders, but what he would be liable to the same disasters in the administration of his office.

Where is there excuse or justification for the charge made by the Senator that I had in any manner reflected upon the President of the United States, or that I had imputed anything wrong to any officer of his Cabinet? In this connection—and the thing that reminded me of that was this—the Senator from Connecticut yesterday gave a clean bill of character to Rathbone, Reeves, Neely, and Thompson, and he said that they were men who prior to this disclosure had stood unimpeached, had stood high for integrity and purity of character, and that if the President of the United States, in the presence of a great necessity to select the best man, had been guided solely by the question of merit and solely by the record of pure conduct when formerly in office, he would have found no better man than Rathbone. And he calls on Senators to witness that fact. Then he takes up Neely, and he gives him a similar eulogy; and he calls on the Senator from Indiana to bear testimony to the correctness of the estimate in which he held him.



The Senator from Connecticut, in the warmth of his praise and eulogy for these men, made them very angels of purity and integrity.

Mr. President, what does that prove? Grant what the Senator says to be true. It proves the correctness of the statement made by me in my remarks on a former occasion, that it is due to the system, that it is due to the colonial policy, that it is due to the maintenance of satrapies and proconsulates and viceroys, and that so long as we continue them we will have to submit to just such humiliation in the frauds and embezzlements which will be brought to light. The great Cardinal said that by the sin of ambition the angels fell, but in this modern day it is a more sordid sin which is dragging them down.

And, Mr. President, if the policy of colonial government is to become a fixed feature of this Government there will be the fall not simply of four angels but of legions of them.

Mr. President, I repeat, do we not stand in the presence of a great duty, a duty higher than partisanship? Do we not stand in the presence of a duty where we should unite in its performance regardless of party? I think that duty is twofold. That duty in the first place is to go to the very bottom, not simply through expert accountants, but through the examination of every witness who can be found or will produce himself, to ascertain everything that has been done in Cuba, in order that we may know to what extent wrong has been done, and in order that when we have ascertained it we may make restitution. I am not in favor of the adoption at this time of the amendment offered by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. TELLER]. While I agree with him entirely in the purpose which he has in view, I am in favor not of making an appropriation of a part. Let us wait and see whether in the place of \$200,000 there are millions of dollars of the Cuban funds which have been misappropriated, and if there has been such misappropriation let us make restitution.

Then our further duty, one in the performance of which we can not too soon get together, is to recognize the fact that we are in possession of Cuba under a pledge that we are there for a specific purpose, and that we will not go on drifting for this specific obligation to take care of itself and result as it may; but that in the furtherance of a high resolve to do our duty we will get together and determine what shall be done to bring this matter to a speedy conclusion. We have solemnly pledged ourselves, and, as the Senator from Wisconsin said, we intend to keep the pledge, although there are powerful influences urging its violation; but if we do intend to keep it, we bring discredit upon the loyalty of our intentions by delaying its performance. Now is the time. It is said we have to adjourn. The decree is said to have gone forth. Mr. President, there are some things I should extremely dislike to see done before we adjourn, but of all things I should like to see this nation redeem its pledge before we adjourn, and by an act of Congress fix the day when we will withdraw from that island and leave those people, as we pledged they should be left, in the possession of their own free and independent government.

#### APPENDIX.

ORIGINAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO THE SENATE, FEBRUARY 15, 1900.

Statement of receipts and disbursements of the public funds of the island of Cuba from January 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899.

RECEIPTS.	
From customs	\$15,011,089.24
From postal service	244,002.33
From internal revenue	787,542.19
From miscellaneous sources	303,331.43
<b>Total</b>	<b>16,346,015.17</b>
DISBURSEMENTS.	
Barracks and quarters	\$1,200,000.43
Sanitation	3,052,282.94
Rural police and administration	1,445,467.21
Public works, ports, etc.	700,126.01
Charities and hospitals	625,783.53
Miscellaneous (includes internal revenue to June 30)	640,329.48
Civil government	345,479.05
Municipalities	1,230,403.05
Aid to destitute	220,912.87
Quarantine	150,813.90
Customs service	810,802.31
State and government	690,334.04
Justice and public instruction	789,897.29
Finance	542,412.83
Agriculture	347,516.93
Postal service	634,929.10
Auditor's and treasurer's offices	206,397.38
Census	357,977.37
<b>Total</b>	<b>14,085,805.32</b>
Balance on deposit to the credit of the treasurer and in the hands of collectors	2,260,209.85

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT MADE BY THE SECRETARY OF WAR TO THE SENATE MAY 18, 1900.

Statement of total receipts from all sources in the island of Cuba and expenditures made by the military governor, the civil departments of finance, justice and public instruction, agriculture and public works, state and government, department of post-offices, for the calendar year 1899, and disbursements for all other purposes from July 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.

RECEIPTS.	
From customs	\$15,012,100.10
From postal	250,025.85
From internal revenue	790,880.33
From miscellaneous	293,884.51
<b>Total receipts for the calendar year 1899</b>	<b>16,316,590.79</b>

EXPENDITURES.	
[From January 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899.]	
Department of finance	\$211,292.27
Department of justice and public instruction	878,640.16
Department of agriculture and public works	255,421.23
Department of state and government	640,975.00
Extraordinary expenses ordered by the military governor	448,079.02
Department of post offices	612,290.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$3,044,699.05</b>

[From July 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899.]	
Public works, ports, and harbors	\$268,036.15
Barracks and quarters	617,755.84
Charities and hospitals	262,092.79
Quarantine	3,575.58
Municipalities	123,113.26
Civil government	164,281.75
Aid to destitute	78,539.68
Customs service	343,985.99
Cuban census	211,401.80
Sanitation	1,688,442.84
Rural guard and administration	506,152.50
Miscellaneous	109,642.38
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,377,020.56</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,421,719.61</b>

Statement of disbursements from January 1, 1899, to December 31, 1899, made by E. G. Rathbone, director-general of posts of Cuba.

Miscellaneous	\$49,544.86
Salaries—Department of posts	219,087.91
Clerks in post-offices	35,672.90
Postmasters	87,364.39
Railway postal clerks	24,279.49
Letter carriers	17,927.24
Telegraph and cables	407.82
Printing and stationery	31,190.48
Furniture	20,672.05
Rent	11,069.14
Light	3,060.59
Per diem	17,313.39
Bonds	1,674.50
Carriage, harness, equipment	3,105.26
Newspapers	41.57
Mail transportation	14,231.19
Mail bags	4,630.93
Letter balances and scales	351.00
Postmarking and rubber stamps	1,963.86
Street letter boxes	2,581.45
Safes	6,292.44
Transportation	7,494.72
Building and repairs	35,831.40
Mail wagons	1,085.00
Star-route contractors	14,493.53
Mail messengers	1,733.96
Exchange	373.19
Refund	100.00

<b>Total</b>	<b>613,098.17</b>
Less warrants canceled	1,317.69
<b>Total</b>	<b>612,290.38</b>

Statement of expenditures under the heading "Public works, ports and harbors," etc., for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.

Salaries	\$33,155.35
Pay rolls, labor	152,056.47
Repairs	3,885.58
Material	49,425.52
Rents, miscellaneous	1,864.46
Miscellaneous	276.27
Property	7,315.73
Stationery and printing	1,040.50
Transportation, travel	530.55
Disinfectants	127.62
Forage	641.15
Transportation, freight	1,488.25
Provisions	1,578.49
Lights, electric and gas	132.84
Rent of tug	280.00
Rent of tugs and lighter	408.00
Office expenses	1.60
Carts and horses	1,200.46
Supplies for light-house	64.37
Dredging	640.00
Repairs to tug	2,387.09
Fuel	534.55
Repairs to wharf	2,000.00
Dry docking and repairs to tug and launches	3,401.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>208,036.15</b>



*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Charities and hospitals" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$17,854.03
Pay rolls, labor.....	76,022.37
Repairs.....	7,735.65
Material.....	35,615.79
Rents, miscellaneous.....	2,085.48
Miscellaneous.....	254.93
Property.....	9,021.07
Stationery and printing.....	3,174.13
Transportation, travel.....	242.82
Disinfectants.....	37.55
Forage.....	72.94
Transportation, freight.....	1,294.25
Provisions.....	55,524.01
Post-mortem.....	150.00
Clothing.....	2,712.21
Allotment.....	2,480.00
Lights, electric and gas.....	331.50
Medicine.....	5,924.39
Removing garbage.....	225.32
Carts.....	23.23
Improvements.....	4,691.00
Office expenses.....	41.55
Medical and surgical supplies.....	5,473.33
Supplies.....	1,543.21
Aid to hospital.....	4,123.13
Yellow-fever board.....	198.00
Aid to orphans.....	3,789.83
Advertising.....	14.91
Telegrams and telephone.....	18.00
Ammunition.....	16,160.91
Laundry.....	51.92
Medical examinations.....	294.00
Emergency purchases, miscellaneous.....	168.21
Burial expenses.....	51.17
Rations.....	3,713.95
Veterinary supplies.....	568.00
Electrical supplies.....	1,000.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>292,092.79</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Barracks and quarters" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$8,325.11
Pay roll, labor.....	139,511.70
Repair.....	92,565.05
Material.....	202,376.55
Rents, miscellaneous.....	41,050.45
Officers' quarters.....	19,169.83
Miscellaneous.....	512.56
Property.....	10,053.05
Real estate.....	3,000.00
Damage to property by the United States Army.....	244.97
Stationery and printing.....	304.61
Transportation, travel.....	300.39
Disinfectants.....	12.50
Forage.....	233.84
Transportation, freight.....	718.10
Provisions.....	13.60
Lights, electric and gas.....	891.57
Cleaning sinks and cesspools.....	49.00
Removing garbage.....	137.00
Custom duties.....	75.30
Subsistence.....	1,435.14
Water tank.....	115.00
Gas engine.....	325.90
Bath house.....	225.00
Carts.....	161.94
Water.....	100.00
Fuel.....	62.30
United States Army for the island of Cuba.....	40,318.51
Damage to land.....	3,893.57
Property destroyed by United States Army.....	45.00
Rent.....	26.00
Rent of scow.....	27.30
Electric-light plant.....	1,675.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>617,755.84</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Quarantine" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$229.50
Pay roll, labor.....	567.23
Material.....	190.06
Rents, miscellaneous.....	208.00
Miscellaneous.....	25.00
Property.....	28.00
Transportation, travel.....	50.00
Provisions.....	523.72
Cablegrams.....	.98
Office expense.....	2.00
Detention fund.....	1,550.00
Telegrams and telephone.....	71.09
Property destroyed by United States Army.....	130.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>3,575.58</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Municipalities" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$67,294.46
Pay rolls, labor.....	21,290.83
Repairs.....	8,875.41
Material.....	7,080.63
Rents, miscellaneous.....	440.12
Miscellaneous.....	97.23
Property.....	9,086.59
Stationery and printing.....	842.59
Transportation, travel.....	188.99

Disinfectants.....	\$11.53
Forage.....	12.73
Transportation, freight.....	69.40
Provisions.....	146.85
Allotment.....	1,645.02
Lights, electric and gas.....	3,586.33
Storage.....	59.55
Refunds.....	1.40
Improvements.....	1,500.00
Jail expense.....	266.00
Provisions for jails.....	355.45
Translating.....	253.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>123,113.25</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Civil government" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$79,766.48
Pay roll, labor.....	613.87
Repairs.....	817.65
Material.....	3,457.21
Rents, miscellaneous.....	1,142.00
Miscellaneous.....	702.78
Property.....	23,224.88
Stationery and printing.....	4,755.17
Transportation, travel.....	12,708.03
Disinfectants.....	22.77
Forage.....	401.09
Transportation, freight.....	6,917.98
Provisions.....	20,108.43
Clothing.....	710.35
Lights, electric and gas.....	273.36
Storage.....	66.90
Medicines.....	646.29
Medical and surgical supplies.....	81.92
Office supplies.....	968.64
Advertising.....	5,262.96
Fuel.....	89.60
Trade journals.....	45.82
Exchange.....	101.74
Post-office stamps.....	24.83
Revision, civil code.....	600.00
Preliminary work, "census".....	700.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>164,281.75</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Aid to destitute" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$9,565.84
Pay roll, labor.....	5,521.55
Repairs.....	4.55
Material.....	133.33
Rents, miscellaneous.....	774.00
Miscellaneous.....	217.45
Property.....	481.50
Stationery and printing.....	150.10
Transportation, travel.....	499.26
Forage.....	12.73
Transportation, freight.....	233.61
Provisions.....	39,373.69
Lights, electric and gas.....	6.19
Medicines.....	4,004.07
Carts.....	284.50
Medical and surgical supplies.....	773.73
Office supplies.....	15.64
Cuban rations.....	28,140.42
Wharfage.....	10.23
Advertising.....	30.63
Hire of land.....	75.00
Interment of remains.....	133.00
Burial expenses.....	119.00
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>78,539.63</b>

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Customs service" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$258,555.80
Pay roll, labor.....	4,407.67
Repairs.....	20,194.83
Material.....	4,767.03
Rents, miscellaneous.....	2,450.22
Officers' quarters.....	70.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,506.69
Property.....	8,874.17
Stationery and printing.....	6,496.02
Transportation, travel.....	1,330.26
Transportation, freight.....	283.20
Provisions.....	68.15
Lights, electric and gas.....	151.90
Refunds.....	28,090.84
Cablegrams.....	16.06
Office supplies.....	1,478.25
Insurance on freight.....	162.28
Veterinary inspector.....	11.28
Uniforms.....	27.05
Fuel.....	181.50
Telegrams and telephone.....	114.28
Rent of scows and tugs.....	100.00
Trade journals.....	166.56
Supplies for launch.....	183.73
Rent of launch.....	755.00
Rent of launches and tugs.....	280.00
Exchange.....	24.70
Repairs, launch.....	124.55
Money-order fees.....	3.60
Auctioneer's fees.....	120.05
Supplies to cutter and launch.....	384.62
Capturing British schooner.....	33.00
Legal services.....	1,218.51
Telegrams and cables.....	39.84
Telegrams.....	263.15
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>343,985.90</b>



*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Cuban census" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$179,231.45
Pay roll, labor.....	21,290.03
Material.....	19.58
Rents, miscellaneous.....	925.12
Miscellaneous.....	402.25
Property.....	2,584.24
Stationery and printing.....	1,663.59
Transportation, travel.....	3,004.98
Forage.....	5.00
Transportation, freight.....	103.23
Provisions.....	468.77
Lights, electric and gas.....	27.76
Advertising.....	174.00
Trade journals.....	23.81
Telegrams and cables.....	76.71
Supervisor.....	1,200.00
Telegrams.....	228.28

Total.....211,401.80

The above statement does not seem to include the following items:

A payment to the Cuban census supervisor under the heading of "Miscellaneous," amounting to.....	\$980.00
A payment for salaries, census supervisors, under the heading of "Miscellaneous," amounting to.....	872.51
A payment for preliminary work, "census," paid under the heading "Civil government," amounting to.....	700.00
And a payment for transportation and subsistence, "census supervisors," under the heading of "Miscellaneous," amounting to.....	1,944.37

Total.....4,496.88

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Miscellaneous" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$27,204.67
Pay roll, labor.....	2,580.89
Repairs.....	6,027.04
Material.....	491.77
Rents, miscellaneous.....	14,477.44
Miscellaneous.....	572.68
Property.....	9,527.75
Stationery and printing.....	8,088.69
Transportation, travel.....	1,164.30
Provisions.....	41.49
Disinfectants.....	6.40
Forage.....	138.90
Transportation, freight.....	7,254.08
Clothing.....	23.55
Lights, electric and gas.....	62.00
Medicines.....	18.85
Medical and surgical supplies.....	472.09
Cuban census supervisor.....	980.00
Office supplies.....	614.08
Aid to charitable institutions.....	90.65
Cuban rations.....	7,000.00
Making Cuban pay rolls.....	1,212.00
Attorney's fees, quartermaster's department.....	100.00
Incidentals.....	42.81
Transportation to funds.....	137.50
Architects and engineers.....	250.00
Rural guard.....	28.00
Secret service.....	1,446.89
Advertising.....	3,836.29
Telegrams and telephones.....	28.68
Trade journals.....	83.25
Laundry.....	90
Repairs to quarters, "Captain of the port".....	11,775.00
Destruction of crops and wharves by United States Army.....	1,000.26
Salaries, "Census supervisors".....	872.51
Transportation and subsistence, "Census supervisors".....	1,944.37
Lawyers' fees.....	100.00

Total.....109,642.38

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Sanitation" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$109,539.14
Pay rolls, labor.....	880,799.79
Repairs.....	53,730.16
Material.....	339,685.10
Rents, miscellaneous.....	2,419.79
Miscellaneous.....	1,154.16
Property.....	126,087.91
Real estate.....	38,510.00
Stationery and printing.....	3,250.89
Transportation, travel.....	1,694.22
Disinfectants.....	12,891.95
Forage.....	42,156.83
Transportation, freight.....	27,468.87
Provisions.....	415.60
Clothing.....	32.06
Lights, electrical and gas.....	336.15
Medicines.....	350.63
Cleaning sinks and cesspools.....	1,998.47
Removing garbage.....	50.00
Customs duties.....	484.53
Carts.....	11,465.74
Water.....	100.00
Mattresses for hospital.....	360.00
Band stand.....	50.00
Improvements.....	750.00
Electrical work.....	1,088.00
Property destroyed by United States Army.....	39.00
Rent for tug and lighter.....	2,904.40
Vaccinating.....	2,273.80
Cablegrams.....	7.50
Tanks, culverts, and bridges.....	362.66
Health inspector.....	73.00
Dredging.....	986.00

Repairs to tug.....	\$1,376.20
Uniforms.....	730.82
Fuel.....	417.04
Miscellaneous supplies.....	502.33
Hospital supplies.....	330.00
Inspection.....	1,209.98
Telegrams and telephones.....	11.97
Vaccination expenses.....	2,956.88
Rent of scows and tugs.....	3,712.07
Rent of tugs and launches.....	2,480.00
Building sea wall.....	1,044.58
Huts for reconcentrados.....	1,702.00
Royalty on electrozone.....	724.82
School supplies.....	23.45
Rent of lighters and scows.....	7,038.69
Veterinary supplies.....	555.87

Total.....1,688,422.84

*Statement of expenditures under the heading "Rural guard and administration" for the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.*

Salaries.....	\$417,813.78
Pay roll, labor.....	27,570.24
Repairs.....	2,055.63
Material.....	7,775.75
Rents, miscellaneous.....	3,576.47
Miscellaneous.....	1,725.84
Property.....	11,224.48
Damage to property by United States Army.....	28.00
Stationery and printing.....	19,805.95
Transportation, travel.....	4,107.59
Forage.....	1,749.70
Transportation, freight.....	857.96
Provisions.....	1,955.28
Clothing.....	75.00
Lights, electric and gas.....	563.01
Medicines.....	5.00
Subsistence.....	174.80
Water.....	24.00
Cablegrams.....	118.70
Office expenses.....	203.49
Supplies for steamer.....	76.45
Ice.....	74.31
Newspapers.....	24.34
Photographic views.....	31.50
Secret service.....	390.00
Uniforms.....	3,149.95
Telegrams and telephones.....	501.00
Trade journals.....	70.90
Ammunition.....	19.00
Exchange.....	113.09
Attorneys' fees.....	100.00
Telegrams and cables.....	172.89

Total.....596,152.50

*Statement of payments made under the heading "Department of finance" during the period from January 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of the island of Cuba.*

Secretary and assistant's office:	
Salaries.....	\$96,349.11
Material.....	6,205.82
Transfer of money.....	408.00
Inspection and commissions.....	2,415.40
Eventual expenses.....	1,545.00
Printing matters.....	379.44
Material.....	1,285.75
Assessments office, salaries.....	1,534.91
Provincial branch office:	
Salaries.....	89,288.52
Material.....	3,892.00
Rent.....	3,836.42
Management.....	445.68
Devolution of receipts.....	426.73
Installation expenses.....	379.40
Repair and renewal archives.....	2,500.00

Total.....211,292.27

*Statement of payments made under the heading "Department of justice and public instruction" during the calendar year 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of the island of Cuba.*

Secretary and assistant's office:	
Salaries.....	\$33,054.11
Material.....	1,221.99
Supreme court:	
Salaries.....	13,028.55
Material.....	676.26
Rent.....	125.00
Management.....	1,000.00
Furniture.....	503.00
Audiencia:	
Salaries.....	219,993.64
Material.....	7,222.81
Rent.....	3,542.40
Furniture.....	500.00
Judges, first instance:	
Salaries.....	96,755.21
Material.....	5,651.47
Rent.....	7,400.72
Interpreters.....	1,720.00
Courts, expenses for witnesses.....	7,039.03
Justice expenses, material.....	65.75
Office rents.....	122.40
Executioners.....	180.00
Executioners, assistance.....	90.00
Inspection expenses, material.....	188.53
Superior instruction institute:	
Salaries.....	42,664.18
Material.....	4,590.50
Rent.....	33.90
Public instruction board.....	1,168.91



Public instruction, schools:	
Salaries	\$163,195.98
Material	29,314.36
Rent	40,726.47
Furniture	4,555.50
University:	
Salaries	89,781.62
Material	3,919.33
Clinical room	225.00
Eventual expenses	630.00
Professional schools:	
Salaries	14,704.33
Materials	830.05
Painting and sculptural school:	
Salaries	7,024.97
Material	413.22
Eventual expenses	311.00
Normal school:	
Salaries	779.73
Material	1,439.24
Arts and trades school:	
Salaries	16,872.29
Material	2,158.64
Rent	657.62
Assistance	750.00
Printers' academy:	
Assistance	1,080.00
Bacteriological laboratory:	
Assistance	4,510.79
Sciences Academy:	
Assistance	902.15
Anatomical dissecting room:	
Rent	932.50
Repair of institute buildings	
Register's office:	2,000.00
Salaries	1,218.54
Material	228.24
Public library:	
Material	150.00
Mercedes Hospital:	
Assistance	2,058.74
Clinical room	1,500.40
Municipalities:	
Register books, materials	171.40
Total	876,640.18

Statement of the payments made under the heading "Department of agriculture and public works," etc., during the calendar year of 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of the island of Cuba.

Secretary and assistant's office:	
Salaries	\$21,208.08
Material	933.64
Board of agriculture, industry, and commerce:	
Salaries	16,326.85
Material	528.89
Public works inspection:	
Salaries	6,910.21
Material	165.00
Civil construction office:	
Salaries	4,064.59
Material	120.00
Weights and measures office:	
Material	416.60
Forests and miners inspection:	
Salaries	12,822.52
Material	430.45
Assistance	184.53
Railroads inspection:	
Salaries	4,530.62
Material	135.00
Eventual expenses	730.00
Assistance	42.30
Eventual expenses	333.59
Provincial branch office:	
Salaries	26,891.35
Material	399.29
Provisional board of agriculture, industry, and commerce:	
Salaries	\$5,478.68
Material	333.19
Eventual expenses	169.00
Provisional board forest inspection:	
Material	10.00
Office rents	20.83
Light-houses:	
Salaries	17,001.64
Material	15,488.95
Repairs of building	1,213.28
Buoys	5,965.53
Repairing of highways	104,383.03
Repairing of State buildings	6,291.84
Allowance to the technical personnel	1,963.76
Total	255,421.21

Statement of payments made under the heading "Department of state and government," during the calendar year 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of the island of Cuba.

Secretary and assistant's office:	
Salaries	\$44,849.29
Material	2,596.48
Board of health:	
Salaries	123.87
Material	225.00
Insane hospital:	
Salaries	12,506.80
Material	25,007.74
Assistance	14,165.67
Eventual expenses	2,206.00
Repair of building	2,102.06
Santa Susana Hospital:	
Assistance	2,100.00
Deficit	2,405.14

Lee Orphan Asylum:	
Assistance	\$2,472.84
Charities:	
Assistance	49,710.65
Office rents	2,574.31
Extraordinary expenses:	
Material	300.00
Civil government:	
Salaries	69,295.84
Material	3,322.89
Office rent	774.23
Inspection expenses	187.92
Material	2,841.85
Management expenses	202.29
Allowance for extraordinary commissions	1,086.15
Police:	
Salaries	341,712.44
Material	1,137.80
Transfer of prisoners	1,160.81
Prisons:	
Salaries	3,040.80
Material	83.20
Vaccination board:	
Salaries	3,070.64
Material	1,052.37
San Lazaro Hospital loan	
Municipalities:	12,000.00
Deficits	35,175.47
Civil register books	11.00
Confidential funds	819.17
Sanitary services:	
Salaries	283.16
Material	30.16
Total	640,975.09

Statement of payments made under the heading "Extraordinary expenses ordered by the military governor" during the calendar year 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of the island of Cuba.

Provincial deputation	
Eventual expenses	\$23,058.78
Municipalities	31,231.25
Municipalities deficit	8,255.33
Salaries	289,673.08
Material	8,345.56
Headquarters	514.40
Charities	5,679.80
Administration expenses	920.59
Civil government	982.81
Audiencia	276.00
Public works	3,228.05
Secretary and government office	2,873.17
Public instruction	5,157.59
Light-houses, old government	416.75
President of secretary's conseil:	1,815.84
Salaries	498.92
Justice office	752.30
Government office	2,313.81
Public works office	1,561.50
Lottery section office	307.81
Provisional board of charity	1,234.95
Vaccination board	585.38
Mortmain section office	55.55
Purchase of house No. 40 Cuba street, for supreme court	46,720.14
Provincial board of agriculture, industry, and commerce, Matanzas:	
Salaries	124.99
Provincial board of agriculture, industry, and commerce, Pinar del Rio:	
Salaries	90.99
General archives:	
Management expenses	170.00
Eventual expenses	68.40
Transfer and repairing	148.00
"Mercedes" Hospital:	
Assistance	3,410.23
Prov. deputation:	
Material	29.78
Prison	871.72
Police:	
Salaries	6,858.20
Material	35.65
Rent	170.00
Schools:	
Assistance	60.00
Prisons:	
Assistance	237.00
Hospitals:	
Assistance	55.00
Total	448,079.92

Summary, by departments, of expenditures under the headings of State and government, Justice and public instruction, Finance, Agricultural public works, etc., and extraordinary expenses ordered by the military governor during the calendar year 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.

Habana	\$1,479,645.57
Pinar del Rio	165,027.29
Matanzas	230,607.48
Santa Clara	236,518.94
Puerto Principe	179,834.12
Santiago de Cuba	139,875.87
Total	2,432,408.67

Statement of salaries (not including pay roll, labor) paid under the headings as shown during the period from July 1 to December 31, 1899, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.

Barracks and quarters	\$8,325.11
Sanitation	109,539.14
Rural guard and administration	417,813.78
Public works, ports, and harbors	39,155.35



Charities and hospitals.....	\$17,854.06
Miscellaneous.....	27,204.67
Civil government.....	79,766.48
Municipalities.....	67,294.46
Quarantine.....	229.50
Aid to destitute.....	6,565.84
Customs service.....	258,555.80
Cuban census.....	179,231.45

Total.....\$1,208,535.64

<sup>1</sup> This amount does not seem to include the sum of \$980 paid to "Cuban census supervisor," under the heading, "Miscellaneous;" nor the sum of \$872.51, salaries "Census supervisors," paid under the heading "Miscellaneous," nor the sum of \$700, preliminary work census, paid under the heading "Civil government."

Complete statement of all salaries paid during the periods shown, as audited and reported by the auditor of Cuba.

	Jan. to June 30.	July to Dec. 31.	Total.
<b>State and government:</b>			
Office of secretary and assistant..	\$17,988.70	\$25,860.59	\$44,849.29
Police.....	23,674.75	318,037.06	341,712.44
Board of health.....	123.87		123.87
Insane asylum.....	1,901.75	10,605.05	12,506.80
Sanitary services.....	283.16		283.16
Vaccination board.....	767.66	2,302.98	3,070.64
Civil government.....	19,984.11	49,311.73	69,295.84
Prison.....		3,040.80	3,040.80
Total.....			474,882.84
<b>Department of justice and public instruction:</b>			
Office of secretary and assistant..	16,491.44	21,562.67	38,054.11
Supreme court.....	5,890.86	37,135.69	43,026.55
Audiencia.....	85,319.94	134,675.70	219,995.64
Judges, first instance.....	40,182.03	56,573.18	96,755.21
Superior instruction.....	23,442.32	19,221.86	42,664.18
Public instruction schools.....	291.66	162,904.32	163,195.98
University.....	45,009.55	44,772.07	89,781.62
Professional school.....	7,394.49	7,309.84	14,704.33
Painting and sculptural school.....	3,390.11	3,664.86	7,054.97
Normal school.....	779.73		779.73
Arts and trades school.....	4,127.43	12,744.86	16,872.29
Register's office.....	1,218.54		1,218.54
Total.....			734,073.15
<b>Department of finance:</b>			
Office of secretary and assistant..	46,416.76	49,932.35	96,349.11
Provincial branch office.....	42,329.45	40,959.07	83,288.52
Assessment office.....	1,134.93	799.98	1,934.91
Total.....			187,572.54
<b>Department of agriculture, public works, etc.:</b>			
Office of secretary and assistant..	9,265.72	11,942.36	21,208.08
Board of agriculture, industry, and commerce.....	8,186.74	8,140.11	16,326.85
Public works, inspection.....	2,549.36	4,360.85	6,910.21
Civil construction office.....	1,828.26	2,236.35	4,064.59
Forests and mines, inspection.....	4,396.74	8,425.78	12,822.52
Railroads, inspection.....	1,895.41	2,635.21	4,530.62
Provincial branch office.....	12,067.96	14,823.39	26,891.35
Provincial board of agriculture, industry, and commerce.....	2,396.21	3,082.47	5,478.68
Light houses.....	6,742.63	10,259.01	17,001.64
Allowances to the technical personnel.....	469.46	1,524.30	1,993.76
Total.....			117,228.30
<b>Extraordinary expenses ordered by the military governor:</b>			
President of secretary's conseil..	498.92		498.92
Provincial board of agriculture, industry, and commerce—			
Matanzas.....		\$124.99	124.99
Pinar del Rio.....		99.99	99.99
Municipalities, deficit.....		8,345.56	8,345.56
Police.....		6,358.20	6,358.20
Department of posts.....	96,334.22	122,753.69	219,087.91
Clerks in post-office.....	23,015.58	12,657.32	35,672.90
Postmasters.....	42,078.12	45,286.27	87,364.39
Railway postal clerks.....	12,893.78	11,385.71	24,279.49
Letter carriers.....	7,600.02	10,236.22	17,836.24
Total.....			384,331.93
<b>Sarracks and quarters.....</b>		8,325.11	8,325.11
<b>Sanitation.....</b>		109,539.14	109,539.14
<b>Rural guard and administration.....</b>		417,813.78	417,813.78
<b>Public works, ports, and harbors.....</b>		36,155.35	36,155.35
<b>Charities and hospitals.....</b>		17,854.06	17,854.06
<b>Miscellaneous.....</b>		27,204.67	27,204.67
<b>Civil government.....</b>		79,766.48	79,766.48
<b>Municipalities.....</b>		67,294.46	67,294.46
<b>Quarantine.....</b>		229.50	229.50
<b>Aid to destitute.....</b>		6,565.84	6,565.84
<b>Customs service.....</b>		258,555.80	258,555.80
<b>Cuban census.....</b>		179,231.45	179,231.45
Total.....			1,208,535.64
<b>Grand total, salaries.....</b>			3,122,052.06

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Would it be agreeable to the Senator from Georgia to have the amendment which I proposed to the resolution adopted at this time?

Mr. BACON. It will.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then the resolution can go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. BACON. It will be entirely so. The amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut is substantially the same as the one which I had previously offered, except that I find in it a provision for expert accounting.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The Senator is satisfied with the amendment I have proposed?

Mr. BACON. I am satisfied with the amendment presented by the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. Then I ask that it be adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut asks for the adoption of the amendment proposed by him to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Georgia. The amendment will be read.

The SECRETARY. It is proposed to add to the resolution the following:

Said committee is authorized to conduct said investigation, and make such report by subcommittee or committees appointed by the chairman; and the committee, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit during the recess of Congress at such place or places in the United States or Cuba as may be necessary; and is empowered to send for persons and papers, issue subpoenas, administer oaths, examine witnesses, employ stenographers, expert accountants, and other necessary assistance, and the expenses of said investigation shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. The amendment having been agreed to—

Mr. COCKRELL. Let it be printed as amended.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. I suppose the law requires that the resolution shall go to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. COCKRELL. But let it be printed as amended and then referred to the Committee on Contingent Expenses.

Mr. GALLINGER. That is right.

Mr. PLATT of Connecticut. All right.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The resolution will be printed as amended, and referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate.

ANDREW F. DINSMORE.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States; which was read:

To the Senate of the United States:

In compliance with a resolution of the Senate of the 22d instant (the House of Representatives concurring), I return herewith the bill of the Senate No. 3215, entitled "An act granting an increase of pension to Andrew F. Dinsmore."

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, May 24, 1900.

Mr. GALLINGER. I ask that the bill and message may lie on the table for the present.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. It will be so ordered, without objection.

HOOR OF MEETING.

Mr. ALLISON. I ask unanimous consent that on to-morrow and Saturday the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa asks unanimous consent that on Friday and Saturday next the Senate shall meet at 11 o'clock. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

SENATOR FROM MONTANA.

Mr. CHANDLER. I move that the Montana resolution be postponed until Wednesday of next week at 1 o'clock.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from New Hampshire moves that the resolution respecting the election in Montana be postponed until 1 o'clock on Wednesday next. The question is on agreeing to the motion.

The motion was agreed to.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 2355) in relation to the suppression of insurrection in, and to the government of, the Philippine Islands, ceded by Spain to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

Mr. SPOONER. Yesterday, Mr. President, before I yielded the floor I had called the attention of the Senate to a letter written by Aguinaldo to the Spanish general, Rios, in command of Iloilo, October 25, before the commissioners at Paris had demanded a cession of the Philippine Archipelago, and of course before it had



been ceded, in which he besought the Spanish general to surrender to him and not to the Americans and to join him with his troops and the 9,000 prisoners held by Aguinaldo in fighting the Americans. I called attention to it because it is irrefutable evidence and meets many charges found in the extended propaganda which for months has been flooding this country against the honor of the United States as represented by the Administration in their treatment of Aguinaldo and his forces.

In this book of Aguinaldo's (and I do not read it for the purpose of denouncing him as a man not only of bad faith, but of want of veracity) appears a statement which I shall read. This is addressed to the nations of the world, attempting to set forth the breach of promise made by consuls and by Admiral Dewey, stating his victories and the extent of his control, and appealing for recognition. He says:

I, Emilio Aguinaldo, though the humble servant of all, am, as president of the Philippine republic, charged with the safeguarding of the rights and independence of the people who appointed me to such an exalted position of trust and responsibility—

It is true the people did not appoint him; he appointed himself—*mistrusted for the first time the honor of the Americans*, perceiving of course that this proclamation of General Otis completely exceeded the limits of prudence, and that therefore no other course was open to me but to repel with arms such unjust and unexpected procedure on the part of the commander of friendly forces.

This was several months after Aguinaldo had written to the Spanish general asking him to surrender Iloilo to him and to join with his forces in fighting the Americans, the hated Spanish flag and the beloved Philippine republic flag to float side by side, and yet he says that he mistrusted our honor for the first time when General Otis issued his proclamation January 4, 1899.

Much has been made of the statement that we recognized Aguinaldo by turning over our sick to him. It was made in the Senate Chamber the other day. If there is any foundation for it in the papers accessible I have not been able to find it. It undoubtedly arises out of a request made by our officers of Aguinaldo. They treated him with the utmost courtesy. Our commanding officer made request to be permitted to establish a hospital on some high ground in the suburbs within his lines—a simple request in the interest of human life that any friendly commander would immediately grant. He refused it, and the General in reply stated that he had upon investigation come to the conclusion that the establishment of such a hospital was not necessary.

It is said we recognized him by turning over our prisoners to him. This refers—and I will spend but a moment upon it—to the troops captured by our naval forces at Subig Bay without any cooperation or assistance from Aguinaldo, although at that time he professed to be friendly, and our people were treating him as friendly. As the Spanish soldiers would not accept parole, and as there was not room for them upon the war ships, and as we had no soldiers there, the Admiral states that he left them in charge of Aguinaldo, first exacting the pledge that they should be decently treated as prisoners of war. They were our prisoners of war. That is all there is of that.

It has been said that the outbreak of hostilities was brought about by us. On the papers I denounce that as without the slightest foundation. On the contrary, I assert here, and it is susceptible of proof, not only that the attack upon our troops was made by the troops of Aguinaldo, but that it was long premeditated. Why do I say that? I say it, Mr. President, among other things, for this reason: I hold in my hand a cable dated Manila, May 7, 1900, from General MacArthur, as gallant and chivalrous a soldier as ever served in any army. It refers to a paper captured the other day from Aguinaldo's troops in the mountains by General Funston. It throws a great light upon the fact which has been in contention:

MANILA, May 7, 1900.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL, Washington:

Referring to cable 5th instant re Aguinaldo's orders for uprising Manila. Order contains over thousand words, mostly detailed instructions street fighting; involves certain acts treachery—use boiling liquids from upper windows by women and children. Assassination American officers implied, not positively ordered. Paper principally valuable account date, January 9, 1899, evidencing well developed plans of offensive insurgents before outbreak. Importance full text insufficient justify expense cabling. Unless absolutely required will not cable. Otis took original.

MACARTHUR.

It would have cost \$2,000 to cable it. There are a thousand words in the order, written in the Tagalog language, with Aguinaldo's own signature to it, dated January 7, many, many days before the outbreak of hostilities, which occurred on February 4.

Ally! A man brutally attacked, the friend of liberty and our coadjutor, by American troops!

That is not all, Mr. President. Without limit, evidences which can not be disputed are susceptible of accumulation.

[Presidency. Personal.]

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES,

Two days before the date of this order—

Malolos, January 7, 1899.

MY DEAR DON BENTO: I write this to ask you to send to this our Government

the photograph you have in your house, and I will pay you for whatever price you may ask. Also please buy me everything which may be necessary to provide the said photograph.

I beg you to leave Manila with your family and to come here to Malolos, but not because I wish to frighten you—I merely wish to warn you for your satisfaction, although it is not yet the day or the week.

Your affectionate friend, who kisses your hands,

EMILIO AGUINALDO.

Sr. D. BENITO LEGARDA.

The week fixed was the first week in February, the day fixed was the 5th day of February, and the outbreak came one day before it was intended.

Gen. Charles King, a gallant and noble soldier of the Regular Army, years ago wounded in the Indian wars, and retired, but unwilling to remain inactive during the Spanish-American war, in which he was a general officer, has written to me the following letter:

MILWAUKEE, Wis., May 5, 1900,

DEAR SIR: The conditions in front of my brigade preceding the outbreak of February 4, 1899, were as follows:

The line of delimitation extended along the estuaries from Pandacan Point on my extreme left to blockhouse 12 on my extreme right. Only one bridge crossed the estuary. It was directly in front of my center at blockhouse 11.

It was distinctly prescribed that, under arms, neither Americans nor insurgents should cross that line.

On December 21, insurgent guards, under arms, crossed to our side, and a clash with our sentries was narrowly averted. General Ricarte promised that it should not occur again, but on December 29, and once before, the same thing happened. After January 1, 1899, although the insurgents were allowed, unarmed, to wander at will within our lines, they ordered our officers back. By January 3 there were significant demonstrations. Earthworks and redoubts grew with every night, and up to January 8 Filipino families in great numbers passed out of town to the country, carrying their goods with them. The insurgents increased the guard at the bridge opposite my center. From this time I could see their working parties flitting about the opposite fields all night long; reported the intrenchments rapidly growing, but we were forbidden to make counter demonstration.

After January 15 insurgent officers and men repeatedly threatened and insulted my sentries, daring them to fight, calling them cowards, flashing their swords in their faces. In order to do this they had to come across the bridge. We were ordered to pay no attention to threats or abuse, and the situation grew constantly more strained until the general attack made by the insurgents the night of Saturday, February 4, and morning of Sunday, February 5.

General McArthur's report, herewith, tells of the attack north of the Pasig River. It was there the battle began. At 2.40 Sunday morning the insurgents made a deliberate attack in force on my line south of the Pasig. It was provoked by no shot or demonstration on our part. Every forbearance was shown.

Very respectfully,

CHARLES KING.

Late Brigadier-General, U. S. V.

Hon. JOHN C. SPOONER,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Thus it appears that during those weeks, Mr. President, every night, the time was spent by Aguinaldo's forces in making earthworks and redoubts around Manila. Why were they doing this around Manila? Why were they adding to their fortifications? Were they anticipating an attack from the Spanish troops? The Spanish troops had surrendered months before and had been transported back to Spain. They were getting ready for a fight with the soldiers of the United States. They had no reason to anticipate an attack from us. The President, as the cablegrams show, over and over again, all the time, whenever word came from Manila from our officers of bad blood between the two armies or of insult to our men, of every conceivable taunt and attempt to provoke a resort to violence upon our part, never failed to cable there, not to resort to force; not to break the peace; and General Otis, only a few days before the outbreak, wrote the following letter to Aguinaldo:

Permit me now briefly, General, to speak of the serious misunderstanding which exists between the Philippine people and the representatives of the United States Government, and which I hope that our commissioners, by thorough discussion, may be able to dispel. I sincerely believe that all desire peace and harmony, and yet by the machinations of evil-disposed persons we have been influenced to think that we occupy the position of adversaries. *The Filipinos appear to think that we meditate an attack, while I am under the strictest orders of the President of the United States to avoid a conflict in every way possible.*

The President did his duty in the interest of peace. General Otis did his duty in the interest of peace in notifying Aguinaldo directly that he was under the strictest orders to avoid a conflict.

My troops, witnessing the earnestness and the comparatively disturbed and unfriendly attitude of the revolutionary troops, and many of the citizens of Manila, conclude that active hostilities have been determined upon, although it must be clearly within the comprehension of unprejudiced and reflecting minds that the welfare and happiness of the Philippine people depend upon the friendly protection of the United States. The hand of Spain was forced, and she has acknowledged before the world that all her claimed rights in this country have departed by due process of law.

This treaty acknowledgment, with the conditions which accompany it, awaits ratification by the Senate of the United States, and the action of its Congress must also be secured before the Executive of that Government can proclaim a definite policy. That policy must conform to the will of the people of the United States, expressed through its Representatives in Congress. For that action the Filipino people should wait, at least, before severing the existing friendly relations. I am governed by a desire to further the interests of the Filipino people, and shall continue to labor with that end in view. *There shall be no conflict of forces if I am able to avoid it, and still I shall endeavor to maintain a position to meet all emergencies.*

What more could be asked by the most critical "anti-imperialist," as some of these gentlemen call themselves? What more toward the preservation of peace could the President have done or could our generals have done? Nothing more. It was the farthest from our thought, the farthest from our wish, to have



trouble there. Our forces had not gone there for trouble with the Filipinos.

Mr. President, it has been thought and stated many times, and it will be stated again, that if the Senate had passed the Bacon resolution after the ratification of the treaty there would have been no war. The Bacon resolution was pending; a Filipino commission headed by Agoncillo was here in the city; that resolution had not been acted upon; even the treaty had not been acted upon. They knew in the Philippines of the pendency of the treaty; they knew in the Philippines of the pendency of the Bacon resolution, and when it came before the Senate and was voted upon, I believe it was only lost by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

But they would not wait. This second George Washington; this man who wanted only liberty and independence, although he had been trading with the Spaniards from June 9 to fight us; this man surrounded by international lawyers; this man and his people, capable of independent government, could not wait. Why not? Puffed with the pride and the vanity of the Oriental that so disgusted Admiral Dewey with him, within thirty days after he arrived at Manila, thinking he could drive us out of the Philippines, he was not willing to wait.

It has been said that we fired the "first shot." In one sense, that is true. I will not read the statement from the report of the commission as to the details of the situation out of which came hostilities. It is known of all men, it is not open to dispute, that on that night of February 4 a lieutenant, and, I think, four private soldiers, and possibly one noncommissioned officer, came three times within our lines, where they had no right to be, and attempted to force the guard. Three times that sentry halted them, and on the third time on their approach he fired. He was not obliged to halt them more than once, but the third time he fired, I think it is stated, killing the lieutenant. Thereupon, simultaneously and almost immediately, there was a general attack from the Filipino lines upon our lines.

It was stated here the other day that our sentry was where he had no right to be. Is that true? The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PETTIGREW] said he could prove it. When before did the mere shot of a sentry or a guard precipitate a general firing along the whole line? Never, unless it was a prearranged signal. Such a thing never was known, I believe, in the history of war. Philippine soldiers had been shot before by American sentinels, I think once at least; but evidently by arrangement there was a general firing upon our troops along the entire line.

From the report of General MacArthur this appears:

The pertinacity of the insurgents in passing armed parties over the line of delimitation into American territory, at a point nearly opposite the pipe-line outposts of the Nebraska regiment, induced a correspondence which, in the light of subsequent events, is interesting, as indicating with considerable precision a premeditated purpose on the part of somebody in the insurgent army to force a collision at that point. The original note from these headquarters, which was prepared after conference with the department commander, was carried by Major Strong, who entered the insurgent lines and placed the paper in the hands of Colonel San Miguel. The answer of Colonel San Miguel was communicated in an autograph note, which was written in the presence of Major Strong, who also saw Colonel San Miguel write an order to his officer at the outpost in question, directing him to withdraw from the American side of the line. This order Major Strong saw delivered to the officer on the outpost. The correspondence referred to is as follows, the original of Colonel San Miguel's note, which was written in the Spanish language, being inclosed herewith:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION EIGHTH ARMY CORPS,  
Manila, Philippine Islands, February 2, 1899.

Commanding General Philippine Troops in Third Zone:

SIR: The line between your command and my command has long been established, and is well understood by yourself and myself.

It is quite necessary, under present conditions, that this line should not be passed by armed men of either command.

An armed party from your command now occupies the village in front of blockhouse No. 7, at a point considerably more than 100 yards on my side of the line, and is very active in exhibiting hostile intentions. This party must be withdrawn to your side of the line at once.

From this date, if the line is crossed by your men with arms in their hands, they must be regarded as subject to such action as I may deem necessary.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR MACARTHUR,  
Major-General, U. S. V., Commanding.

SAN JUAN DEL MONTE, February 2, 1899.

Major-General MACARTHUR.

MY VERY DEAR SIR: In reply to yours dated this day, in which you inform me that my soldiers have been passing the line of demarcation fixed by agreement, I desire to say that this is foreign to my wishes, and I shall give immediate orders in the premises that they retire.

Truly, yours,

L. F. SAN MIGUEL,  
Colonel and First Chief.

At about 8.30 p. m., February 4, an insurgent patrol consisting of 4 armed soldiers entered our territory at blockhouse No. 7 and advanced to the little village of Santol, which was occupied from the pipe-line outpost of the Nebraska regiment. (This, it will be observed, was precisely the point referred to in the correspondence above quoted.) The American sentinel challenged twice, and then, as the insurgent patrol continued to advance, he fired, whereupon the patrol retired to blockhouse No. 7, from whence fire was immediately opened by the entire insurgent outpost at that point.

Notice that the line of delimitation had been agreed upon; it had been long established; there had been many attempts to force

that line, and General MacArthur called the attention of General San Miguel to the fact of an army patrol, in disregard of the line established, coming with hostile intent, apparently, into our lines, and asked him to stop it, giving him fair notice that if repeated it would be treated as an evidence of hostility. The officer replied that he would. On the night of February 4, the night when hostilities broke out, the offense was repeated at that precise spot. Can anyone doubt what that was for? Can any man who is unwilling to see anything in all this business but dishonor and brutality and crime upon the part of an American President and of American generals and American troops doubt that that patrol went there in order to force a hostile shot from the American troops?

But that is not all, Mr. President. I have before me a letter from Manila, written by a man whom I believe to be entirely reliable, the special correspondent of the Outlook. I have read many of his letters. They are frank letters; they have indulged in some criticisms upon us as wanting here and there in the requisite tact, but certainly he seems to be a reliable man, as he certainly is an intelligent one. He says:

*I have seen letters sent by Aguinaldo to his chief men in Manila at that time—*

Referring to the outbreak—

directing them to arm and instruct the secret regiments that had been raised inside the town.

Shortly before the outbreak.

Finally, about February 1, he notified the officers that they were to rise on the 5th, and that simultaneously he would invade the city. Over 2,000 Spanish soldiers who were then being fed and housed by the Americans had enlisted in these secret regiments.

The man, Teodoro Sandico, who issued the order which was sought to be carried out on the night of the 23d of February (Washington's birthday), for the extermination not only of our forces but of the families of all Europeans, Americans, Spaniards, Hollanders, Frenchmen, and English, men, women, and children, without compassion, as the order reads, had been busy for weeks organizing clubs in Manila, apparently social clubs, but really enlisted troops; and it is a fact which no man can gainsay, and which no man will gainsay, that the night when this outbreak occurred there were 10,000 organized soldiers in Manila to aid the outside troops in capturing the city and destroying the people.

I said they attempted on the night of February 23, after this outbreak, to carry out the order of Sandico. I find among the papers the report of one officer who headed the troops for that purpose, who set fire to some buildings, and who happened to discover when he reached the spot where he was to do more of that work that the Americans had been warned and were ready to receive him; and if it had not been for friendly Filipinos; if it had not been for intercepted correspondence; if it had not been for the care and skill of General Hughes, the provost-marshal, there would have occurred, Mr. President, on that night a massacre so shocking that the world never, never would have forgotten it.

We commenced the war! Why? Because "we fired the first shot." That has been said over and over and over again in this Senate and elsewhere. In very many cases of self-defense the man who is attacked fires the first shot. One might as well say that if a caravan crossing the plains in the olden day, the savages circling, as was their wont around it, drawing nearer and nearer, in war paint, should fire first upon them to drive them away, they began hostilities upon the savages. They would have fired the first shot. A man approaching the Senator from Iowa [Mr. ALLISON] at night, with a revolver in his hand, evidently intent upon violence, might, with as much propriety, say, if the Senator shot him, being quick and prompt, and wounded him, "You commenced hostilities; you fired the first shot."

It often happens, it generally happens, that when an advancing force reaches a picket line the first shot is fired by the pickets of the army which they seek to attack. It is the rule. They fire to give warning; they fire to give the alarm, and then there is firing along the whole picket line, from the reserves to the end; and then comes the beating of the long roll; then the forces are aroused, and men are ready in all the regiments or corps or divisions, as the case may be, to meet the attack; but the picket who fired the first shot against the enemy advancing could not be said to have commenced hostilities. It is too absurd to talk about.

That night, Mr. President, Aguinaldo promptly issued his declaration of war. It has been said that the next day—and that has been one of the principal counts in this indictment—General Torres came into our lines under a flag of truce from Aguinaldo, saying that the firing was accidental, that Aguinaldo had not ordered the attack, and asking for an armistice and for an agreement upon a neutral zone in order to prevent further hostilities between the armies, and that General Otis replied: "No; fighting has begun and it must go on to the grim end." I lament the shedding of blood; I hate brutality, and therefore I hate war; but, Mr. President, I stand here to-day to say that had the facts been as charged here General Otis would have done his duty in the environment of that day in refusing an armistice.



Why? Here was our little army of 17,000 men only, 7,000 miles away, occupying the city of Manila, with enemies all around them within the city, and enemies all around them without the city, with information that gave them the right to believe that not only was an attack meditated upon the city, but an atrocity—surrounded by 10,000,000 of possible hostiles, a strange and alien people, a people who had been prejudiced against us, vast numbers of whom had been excited and agitated by the appeals of Aguinaldo, claiming to have then an army of 30,000 men outside of the city, to say nothing of Sandico's clubs of butchers within the city—what would be said of a general holding a city filled with friendly Filipinos, containing the families of foreigners and American officers, who, when an attack had been made upon him, unprovoked and wicked, would have granted an armistice and an opportunity to consolidate forces and to gather in more troops, to set more fires, to mature more plans of assassination?

If an armistice had been granted and that city had later fallen; if our troops there had been overwhelmed; if the families of foreigners had been destroyed, what would have been said of General Otis? Every man in the United States would have called him either an idiot or a coward. There was nothing in the situation to lead a prudent commander, circumstanced as he and our army were circumstanced, a general attack having been made upon us, to do other than to press forward. But it turns out that no such flag of truce was ever brought to General Otis; that no such request for an armistice was made of General Otis.

The Adjutant-General, in order to be able to furnish information sought by a resolution of the Senate, wired General Otis as follows:

[Cablegram.]

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
Washington, April 30, 1900.

OTIS, Manila:

Cable whether General Torres came to you under flag of truce February 5, 1899, and stated Aguinaldo declared fighting had begun accidentally and not authorized by him; that Aguinaldo wished it stopped, and to end hostilities proposed establishment of neutral zone between the two armies of which agreeable to you, so during peace negotiations there might be no further danger of conflict. Whether you replied fighting having begun must go on to grim end.

CORBIN.

Here is General Otis's reply:

[Cablegram.]

MANILA, May 1, 1900.

AGWAR, Washington:

Judge Torres, citizen, resident of Manila, who had served as member insurgent commission, reported evening February 5 asking—

It was a purely voluntary thing on his part. He did not claim to come from Aguinaldo. He did not claim to speak for Aguinaldo.

If something could not be done to stop the fighting, as establishment of neutral zone. I replied Aguinaldo had commenced the fighting and must apply for cessation; I had nothing to request from insurgent government.

That was right—

He asked permission to send Colonel Arguñel to Malolos, and Arguñel was passed through lines near Calocan next morning. He went direct to Malolos, told General Aguinaldo and Mabini that General Otis would permit suspension of hostilities upon their request. They replied declaration of war had been made, a copy of which they furnished him.

That was the answer they gave him. When informed by General Otis that there would be a cessation of hostilities if requested by Aguinaldo, they sent to General Otis a declaration of war:

They said they had no objection to suspension of hostilities, but beyond this general remark made no response, but directed him to return with that message. Arguñel reported that he conveyed my statement; that they had commenced the war, and it must go on since they had chosen that course of action, but did not attempt to induce them to make any proposition, as he feared accusation of cowardice. The insurgent chief authorities made no proposition and did not intend to make any, nor did they attempt to do so until driven out of Malolos. My hasty dispatch of about that date misleading. \* \* \*

OTIS.

That is what General Otis says, and I received in the mail this noon an insulting letter from a prominent "anti-imperialist" in Boston, whom I do not know, referring to General Otis as untruthful for sending this dispatch.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to make a statement right there? I will not occupy his time.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALLEN. It may be of some interest to the Senator and to the Senate to know that I have been told by an officer, whose name I do not speak, because to do so would imperil his position, that he was present at General Otis's headquarters when General Torres came forward with a flag of truce, as is stated in a document the Senator has read. That officer is yet alive, and he is a gentleman of entire integrity. He is still in the Army, and so I do not think it proper to disclose his name.

Mr. SPOONER. If he charges falsehood upon the commanding general he ought to do it in the open.

Mr. ALLEN. He can not afford to do it.

Mr. SPOONER. Then he ought to shut up.

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir. There is no reason why a man should not tell the truth, though he can not afford to disclose his name.

Mr. SPOONER. He can afford to disclose his name if he tells the truth and charges his commanding officer with telling a lie. A court-martial would take care of his case, and that of the commanding general, too.

Mr. ALLEN. This man would imperil his office by inviting a court-martial to inquire into the facts.

Mr. SPOONER. He would not imperil his office under any decent government in the world, Mr. President, by telling in a respectful way the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. That might be true, Mr. President. But I will not occupy the Senator's time, because I shall on a proper occasion reply to a number of statements he has made, in which I beg to differ with him as to the facts and proofs; but I can not afford to give that officer's name, knowing how the Army of the United States is run. It would imperil him by disclosing the truth, and he would not do so unless it was absolutely necessary to make a disclosure.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, there never was a time when the Army of the United States, illustrious as its history is, was commanded by more honorable men than those who command it to-day, from the Commander in Chief down.

Mr. ALLEN. I have not said anything to the contrary.

Mr. SPOONER. And, Mr. President, I must be pardoned if I pay more regard to this unequivocal statement made by General Otis to the Commander in Chief than I do to the statement of a man made to the Senator from Nebraska for use in the campaign probably—

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir.

Mr. SPOONER. Whose name can not be given to the public. General Otis signed his statement. Mr. President, I have not much respect for a man who goes behind the back of his general to contradict him.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit a remark?

Mr. SPOONER. Certainly.

Mr. ALLEN. The circumstances of this matter to which the Senator refers are peculiar.

Mr. SPOONER. There are a great many peculiar circumstances.

Mr. ALLEN. I know there are a great many peculiar things in the world, and we discover them as we go on from day to day.

Mr. SPOONER. And if some can not discover them they make them.

Mr. ALLEN. No, sir. If we do not discover them we miss them, and what we miss probably sometimes is much more valuable than what we come in contact with.

But the fighting began between the Filipinos and a regiment which went from my State—the First Nebraska—and one company of that regiment having gone from the little city in which I live, I think I am in an attitude to know, if men who have always borne a good character for truth and veracity can be believed, that the statement made by General Otis is not true.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, all that brings us to this situation: We have a Senator here who, in the interest of anti-imperialism, has placed upon the record the charge that the President did not tell the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. Who did not?

Mr. SPOONER. The President. I do not refer to you.

Mr. ALLEN. Thank you.

Mr. SPOONER. We have also had placed upon the record here the statement that Admiral Dewey has not told the truth.

Mr. ALLEN rose.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not refer to the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. ALLEN. I thank you again.

Mr. SPOONER. Now we have placed upon the record the statement that General Otis is a prevaricator.

Mr. ALLEN. Not at all, Mr. President. I do not make the charge that General Otis—I will not use the word "lied." The Senator seems to use that word with some degree of freedom. I will not use the word "prevaricator," because that is a milder method of expressing the same thing.

Mr. SPOONER. What word do you use?

Mr. ALLEN. I will simply say that General Otis is mistaken, which is a still softer term.

Mr. SPOONER. He may be mistaken about it, of course; but General Otis would be as likely to know as anybody else.

Mr. ALLEN. A thousand men—1,200 men—standing in line, and other officers and intelligent persons present in hearing distance, can not be ignored in settling a question of fact.

Mr. SPOONER. I suppose there hardly could have been a thousand men present at the conference between this officer, if he came, and General Otis.

Mr. ALLEN. I suppose the old rule holds good yet which prevailed in the days when the Senator and I served in the Army, when a private soldier was supposed to know nothing at all.

Mr. SPOONER. That was true in a good many instances. [Laughter.]



Mr. ALLEN. It was probably true, and I think in some instances it has held true up to this time.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes, probably.

Mr. ALLEN. But I hope the Senator does not propose to adopt that rule. We know that if there is an intelligent man upon the face of the earth it is the average American citizen. A man does not cease to see and to hear and to feel and to reason because he wears the uniform of a private soldier and does not wear the epaulettes of the commissioned officer. These men to whom I refer and of whom I speak can not all be fools and all liars, and the bewhiskered gentleman at the head of the Army at that time know all the truth.

Mr. SPOONER. I should think that General Otis would have known more about what happened in an interview with him than the army would.

Mr. ALLEN. Would the Senator from Wisconsin know more about what happened in an interview between himself and the honorable Senator from Iowa if the Senator from Michigan, who sits by him, was a listener to that conversation?

Mr. SPOONER. No.

Mr. ALLEN. No. Suppose, added to the Senator from Michigan, there were a dozen other men who had an equal opportunity to hear it, would the statement of the honorable Senator from Wisconsin or the honorable Senator from Iowa be taken in preference to the statements of the dozen other gentlemen who had all listened?

Mr. SPOONER. On a matter of this kind, before answering the question I should want to know the politics of the man. [Laughter.] This is a Presidential year.

Mr. ALLEN. I have assumed all the way through that it is possible for a Republican to tell the truth. It may be that I am mistaken. If I am, I apologize to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator ought to know. He was a Republican long enough. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. I was a Republican until I discovered that Republicanism meant nothing. I had the manhood to leave that party, thank God. The Senator has not thus far left it.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator has gotten that in my speech. He became a Populist.

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. That is nothing.

Mr. ALLEN. Oh, no. That is, as you view it.

Mr. SPOONER. That is, as I view it.

Mr. ALLEN. In my humble opinion, the Senator from Wisconsin, in all the fullness and plenitude of his knowledge and wisdom, has never read a Populist platform.

Mr. SPOONER. I have.

Mr. ALLEN. You have read more than I thought you had.

Mr. SPOONER. And I can sum it all up in one sentence, almost. They are opposed to everything that is—

Mr. ALLEN. And everything that may be.

Mr. SPOONER. And in favor of everything that is not, that never has been and never ought to be. [Laughter.]

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator be kind enough to tell what the Populist party is in favor of?

Mr. SPOONER. No. The Senator proposes to reply to me. He will have time.

Mr. ALLEN. I do propose to reply, and I propose to reply particularly to that facetious part, and that specious part—I will not characterize it in stronger terms—which is calculated to gloss over the monstrosities that are existing in public life to-day and to meet the acclaim and applause of the galleries by light and trivial sayings.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator can use any language he chooses. He need not modify his language on my account.

Mr. ALLEN. It would be unparliamentary language.

Mr. SPOONER. Now I come back to the proposition that I think the American people will believe General Otis, at any rate until he is contradicted by somebody whom they know and who comes into the open to dispute his statement.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. But I must finish this afternoon, and I have not said a word about the darkey or South Carolina. [Laughter.] I have not looked at the Senator from South Carolina. I was looking at the Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. TILLMAN. Will not the Senator allow a slight interruption notwithstanding?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not wish to.

Mr. TILLMAN. I will not interrupt the Senator.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, what is it?

Mr. TILLMAN. I will direct the Senator's attention—I know he is fair—to the fact that General Otis has himself been his worst witness as to his own veracity, for the reason that he has so often telegraphed that the rebellion was suppressed, and that there was nothing left of it except a few straggling bands that we have come to believe that the war was over. Nevertheless, our latest news from there, even before he left and since he left, is that it is about as strong opposition as it ever has been.

Mr. SPOONER. Is that all?

Mr. TILLMAN. Well, then, I will give the Senator another little bone—

Mr. SPOONER. No; I beg pardon.

Mr. TILLMAN. In regard to the causes of this battle and how it came about and who provoked it, I read from General Otis's report, in his own words:

The engagement was one strictly defensive on the part of the insurgents and a vigorous attack by our forces.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. TILLMAN. Then it could not have been intended by the insurgents and could not have been a premeditated plot. If the insurgents had provoked the assault and had sent their men out to get shot down in order to attack the Americans, they would not have been strictly on the defensive. They would have been ready for a rush.

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator attempts to discredit the word of General Otis because he has reported from time to time that the insurrection, as I call it, was suppressed; but it turned out later that it was not. That was an opinion on the part of General Otis susceptible of easy explanation and in entire harmony with his integrity. I have come to look upon General Otis as a man of great ability, and I have never discovered anything—and I have studied these papers carefully—which would warrant the slightest imputation upon him. I thought at one time that he was not a fit man for the responsible position in which he was placed there.

Mr. ALLEN. Why was he recalled?

Mr. SPOONER. He was recalled at his own request, because he had been there a long time in a climate which breaks men down, carrying upon his shoulders a burden of responsibility, military and civil, and performing an amount of labor, prodigious in its character, which would break any man down. He won, in my opinion, by his conduct in the Philippines, the gratitude, to say nothing of the respect, of the American people. It is true that he thought when he had driven the men out of this village and the other they would stay out, but when the rainy season came, and when our troops had to be withdrawn to Manila, or leave the city subject to loot and destruction, the insurrectionists reoccupied the positions from which they had been driven. That was not the fault of General Otis. That was because we had not afforded him the requisite troops with which to carry on to consummation an Herculean task.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the honorable Senator permit me to suggest that the history of that insurrection, or whatever it may be called, does not furnish an instance where General Otis was on the battlefield during an action.

Mr. SPOONER. It is a matter of no consequence. The books are full of cablegrams, letters, orders, and communications, even as to the detail of movements, which show that General Otis from the beginning to the end kept in touch with every movement, with every troop of men, and gave general directions, as he was obliged to take the general responsibility.

Mr. ALLEN. Conveniently distant from the scene of danger.

Mr. SPOONER. I suppose the Senator means by that observation to charge him with cowardice, does he not?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not mean to charge him with cowardice.

Mr. SPOONER. Then what is the point of the suggestion?

Mr. ALLEN. I mean to say that he has never been upon the field of battle during an action. The Senator from Wisconsin was not there, but it does not follow that he is a coward.

Mr. SPOONER. It was not my business to be there.

Mr. ALLEN. It was the business of the commanding general to be there.

Mr. SPOONER. No; it was not the commanding general's business.

Mr. ALLEN. Did the Senator ever know of a battle being fought before the late war where the general commanding the troops was not somewhere on the scene of action?

Mr. SPOONER. He was not the immediate commander of the troops. He was the commander in chief. He occupied the same relation to the different corps—if there were corps—to the different brigades, and all that in the Philippines that General Grant occupied during the war over all the armies and all the commanders of the United States.

Mr. ALLEN. There can not be found an instance in the history of over two hundred battles fought during the civil war in which the commander of the army was not upon the scene of battle—not one.

Mr. SPOONER. The immediate—

Mr. ALLEN. We have reports of battles, if you dignify them by that name, skirmish after skirmish in the Philippines, and Otis not upon the field of action in one of them.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh, Mr. President, that is absurd.

Mr. ALLEN. Well, it is true nevertheless.

Mr. SPOONER. General Otis was there attending to his duties. He had good lieutenants.



Mr. ALLEN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. SPOONER. He had the brave and generous Lawton.

Mr. ALLEN. That is right.

Mr. SPOONER. He sleeps over here now in sight of the Capitol, among the men with whom he served for the preservation of this Union. The last word almost which he sent to the American people was that men over here were prolonging and inciting that insurrection, and that if he were shot he might as well be shot by his own men.

Mr. ALLEN. I deny that he ever gave utterance to that sentiment. I have heard the Senator repeat that before.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I should like to have proof of the authenticity of that utterance, because Lawton has made statements that were entirely contrary to it. I have one here in my hand. The two do not go together. I should like to know which is the truth.

This is from the New York World correspondent. [Laughter.] I see the New York World is not very popular on this side of the house. It is from the correspondent of the New York World in Manila.

Mr. SPOONER. I wish the Senator would hurry.

Mr. PETTIGREW. It says:

General Lawton, during the last few months before his death, more than once expressed his discontent in his impulsive way.

"I'm going to the Transvaal," he exclaimed one day. "They are fighting my way down there."

That sounds a good deal more like Lawton than the other.

"No, you are not," Mrs. Lawton replied. "You are going back to California with me to raise oranges."

Then the correspondent goes on to say:

Now, that he has gone where no influence of an enemy can be brought to bear on him these things may be told. It is eight months since he said that 100,000 men were necessary for the pacification of these islands and authorized the publication of the statement.

"General Otis scolded me about it," he said afterwards, "but I didn't go back on what I said."

There are further quotations, but that is the point.

Mr. SPOONER. I have no doubt there were times over there when General Lawton was not satisfied. I have heard myself that he was not entirely satisfied with the way he was treated. That is not the matter I was talking about, nor is that any contradiction of what I said. This paper that I have in my hand is part of a letter which was written by General Lawton not long before his death to the Hon. John Barrett, ex-minister to Siam, whom he knew.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Do you know it was written?

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator reminds me of a lawyer who was defending a prisoner for murder. The evidence showed that the defendant stood with a revolver when the other man approached and fired it, and when he fired it the man fell dead. On cross-examination of a witness who saw it the counsel said to him, "Did you see this defendant?" "Yes." "Where was he?" "Well, he stood so and so." "Did he have a revolver in his hand?" "Yes." "Was it pointed at the deceased?" "Yes." "How far from him was it?" "Twelve feet." "Did he fire it?" "Yes." "Did the deceased drop when he fired it?" "Yes." "Did you go to him?" "Yes." "Was he dead?" "Yes." "Now, sir, I ask you to inform the jury, on your oath, whether you saw any bullet go out of the barrel of that revolver." [Laughter.]

General Lawton wrote—and this is altogether apart from what I wanted to say to the Senate—

I would to God that the whole truth of this whole Philippine situation could be known by everyone in America as I know it. If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions, and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here. If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observations, confirmed by captured prisoners, that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.

Mr. PETTIGREW. What I asked was, What proof have you that that was written by Lawton?

Mr. SPOONER. In the first place, it was a signed letter written to Mr. John Barrett, and I assume he wrote it, because I believe it expresses the truth.

Mr. ALLEN. Have you the original letter?

Mr. SPOONER. No; I have not the original letter.

Mr. ALLEN. You have a printed copy?

Mr. SPOONER. This printed extract.

Mr. ALLEN. That is all.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes. If that is not enough I will furnish the original letter.

Mr. ALLEN. That would be better.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not know. Most men would be satisfied with the word of a man who had received the letter. Mr. Barrett told me he received the letter.

Mr. ALLEN. It would depend upon the veracity of the person who said he had read the letter.

Mr. SPOONER. It would depend upon whether it was an original and authentic letter.

Mr. ALLEN. I have seen it contradicted a half a dozen times.

Mr. SPOONER. By whom?

Mr. ALLEN. By reporters and others who profess to know. I can not call their names now. I know the Senator had it in his desk four months ago. He read it four months ago, or shortly after Lawton died.

Mr. SPOONER. I will read it again.

Mr. ALLEN. It has done duty here on several occasions. But that is not what I rose for. I wish to make a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. President, I have never seen the rules of the Senate violated without some steps being taken to check it until an occasion like this comes up. There have been constant and repeated violations of the rules of the Senate during this discussion by the occupants of the galleries and by gentlemen who have the privileges of the floor. I want now to insist—I am perfectly willing that the Senator from Wisconsin shall have all the applause he sees fit to enjoy—

Mr. SPOONER. I need all I get.

Mr. ALLEN. I have no doubt of that, but I certainly insist that for political purposes and to aid imperialism and its greed for power—

Mr. SPOONER. I thought the Senator wanted to make a point of order.

Mr. ALLEN. I am stating it.

Mr. SPOONER. There is no imperialism in our rules that I know of.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator should not put words in my mouth or tell me how I should state my proposition. The traditions and rules of the Senate should not be constantly violated, and the Senate of the United States turned into a town caucus.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There has been no applause or disturbance from the galleries during this speech.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg to differ.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There has been laughter on the part of Senators themselves, and the Chair has no right to call a Senator to order for laughter.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg the Chair's pardon. There was applause in the galleries. Sitting where I sit, I have heard it from the galleries.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair has heard no applause.

Mr. ALLEN. I have.

Mr. SPOONER. There it is again. [Laughter.] This is a day of—

Mr. TELLER. There certainly has been great confusion in the Chamber and great confusion in the galleries. I think that it is time that confusion ceased, particularly on the floor of the Senate.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Mr. President, I wish simply to refer to what has already been said in connection with the Lawton matter very briefly, if I may be permitted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Dakota?

Mr. SPOONER. Always.

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am not inclined to interrupt another Senator when he is making a speech. I seldom do it, and I think my fellow-Senators will bear me out in saying that, but I must say that it seems to me there has been a studied effort in the last two days to compel me to take a part in this debate by very pointed and direct allusions that justified what little participation I may have had in it. Therefore I do not feel like apologizing for what I may say.

I do not believe the statement, on the proof presented, came from General Lawton. I will believe it when such proof is brought as would satisfy a jury and be considered evidence. The statement is not like Lawton. The New York World correspondence is more like him. It seems to me it is going very far for any one to stand up in the Senate and undertake to insist, in view of all the facts that surround the case, that the people who believe that we ought to withdraw our armed forces and stop killing those people are guilty of the killing of our troops.

When Aguinaldo sent word that he wanted a truce, that we could fix the boundaries of a neutral zone, and we declined to answer, and the killing has gone on ever since, I submit that those who are so jealous of the honor of our flag that they object to its being used to destroy the liberties of other people, are not responsible for the killing that has resulted since that time. The responsibility rests upon those who insist on continuing a war of conquest in an effort to subject a people to a rule distasteful and unsatisfactory to them, and the responsibility is on no one else. It is in bad taste, unjustified under any circumstances, to bring into this forum any such charge; and I do not believe Lawton ever did it.

Mr. SPOONER. I will undertake to satisfy the Senator that the letter is a genuine letter.



The Senator from South Carolina quoted from General Otis that in the fighting that night the insurrectionists acted "strictly upon the defensive" and that our troops acted upon the aggressive. The Senator construes that as a statement by General Otis that we were responsible for the outbreak of hostilities. That is a manifest misconception. General Otis is there giving a report to the Secretary of War, using the language of a soldier to his superior officer, and he is referring to the operation of that battle from the tactical standpoint and not to the responsibility for opening the hostilities. It undoubtedly is true, as he states, that the Philippine army was intrenched partly around Manila. They fired upon our men from intrenchments, and the American soldiery in self-defense charged those intrenchments and assumed the aggressive, and drove them out of the intrenchments and out of the suburbs.

That is obviously what is meant by General Otis—that the one army fought behind intrenchments and did not charge, and that the other army charged the intrenchments and drove the enemy out; and that is in accord with the facts. I am glad the Senator called my attention to it because I had heard that statement before as authority for the proposition that General Otis had reported that the American troops opened hostilities and were the aggressors. They are the soldiers who charged the Filipinos after they had opened a general fire upon our lines. But General Otis was informed that rockets of a certain sort had been agreed upon as the signal upon which there should be a general engagement, and Admiral Dewey has stated that when the sentry fired the shot, followed by a fusillade, those rockets which had been agreed upon as signal for attack, he saw from his ship.

It has been said here, and it shows how forced to a ridiculous contention some of our friends are, that possibly as the lieutenant and his men did not understand the English language, they may not have understood the sentry when he called "Halt!"

Mr. President, think of it. There is not a soldier in the world who does not know, when a sentry stands with gun in hand, what it means, and when he utters a word with gun in hand, even an Indian on the plains knows what it means. It is the language of war. It means stop. It is more than mere language; it is more than a mere word. The attitude itself and the duty which the soldier is performing speak for themselves.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President, I will assist the Senator in trying to bring out the facts. I should be glad if the Senator would allow me to make a suggestion.

Mr. SPOONER. I am paying a pretty heavy price for the assistance. I am anxious to get through.

Mr. TILLMAN. Why does the Senator look at the clock when I get up?

Mr. SPOONER. The Senator does not own the clock.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not claim to own the clock.

Mr. SPOONER. I looked at the clock—

Mr. TILLMAN. If the Senator objects to my interruption—

Mr. SPOONER. I looked at the clock because I am anxious to get through.

Mr. TILLMAN. I do not think the Senator ought to object to giving the great pleasure he has been giving us now for three evenings in succession; and I am satisfied he has received attention as no other man has during this whole session of Congress. I have drunk in every word I could of his, and I have enjoyed it as much as though he was fighting on my side, because it is the most magnificent piece of special pleading that I have ever listened to or that I believe has ever been uttered on this floor.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I am chagrined that my observations have taken a portion of three sessions. I ask my colleagues to remember that it has been largely due to interruptions. But now I desire to be permitted to finish what I have to say without interruption.

Mr. TILLMAN. Of course, I will not interrupt the Senator if he objects.

Mr. SPOONER. I am anxious to be through for many reasons.

Mr. President, I will not take further time upon the question as to who commenced the battle. I will not discuss it in detail, although I would have been glad to do it, if I had not already been beguiled into delay on matters which are important to be considered in connection with this branch of the subject.

There is one significant thing which I have never heard alluded to by those who are so anxious and industrious to impress upon the people that we brought on hostilities and that we have been making war upon a people struggling for independence, and that is this:

Professor Worcester, in his address, "Some aspects of the Philippine question," states that under date of February 12, General Otis sent the following dispatch:

Reported that insurgent representative at Washington telegraphed Aguinaldo to drive out Americans before arrival of reinforcements. The dispatch received Hongkong and mailed to Malolos, which decided on attack to be made about 7th. Eagerness of insurgent troops to engage precipitated battle.

There is the strongest possible corroboration of that statement.

I know that in this city, stopping at the Arlington Hotel during the time we were debating the treaty, was a Filipino commission headed by Agoncillo, one of the Philippine junta, one who made an important speech on May 5 at the meeting which decided that Aguinaldo, against his will, should go to Manila.

And I know, Mr. President, that before any of us knew in this country that there had been any outbreak in Manila Agoncillo and one of his associates left the hotel. He left at midnight February 4 and went to Canada by the shortest route, and by the time we learned by cable from those distant islands that warfare had been commenced there and an attack had been made on the night of February 4 upon our troops, Agoncillo was near to the Canadian border. Why he suddenly fled from the United States in this surreptitious way and sought to be under another flag, I can not tell. Perhaps others can.

I have always thought, Mr. President, it was because he knew it had been arranged that on that night or on the next morning there would be an attack upon our troops in Manila by the insurgents, and thought it would be safer for him to be beyond the jurisdiction of the United States.

There is absolutely nothing, Mr. President, in my opinion, upon which to base the assertion that, in violation of General Otis's orders from the President, and in violation of Otis's orders to his men, our troops brought on that engagement. But the fighting went on. Our troops aggressively followed the insurrectionists. That was a legitimate part of self-defense. Nothing would require them, hostilities having broken out, to remain in Manila and allow the enemy to again surround the city, to again attack them at a disadvantage.

Now, Mr. President, whether the insurrection is ended or not, I do not know. I fear not until after election. From the time that treaty was ratified, which has been declared or characterized as a declaration of war, we have had an agitation in this country. Mr. Bryan, to whom I refer respectfully, came here and labored for the ratification of that treaty. If it was a declaration of war he must take his share of the responsibility for it. If it in itself involved imperialism he was a promoter of imperialism.

Before the treaty was ratified, January 9, he published in the New York Journal an elaborate article upon the subject, urging the ratification of the treaty, and a declaration of future policy as to the Philippines, strongly I thought, and think, foreshadowing, in the event of failure to make such a declaration, an aggressive issue against imperialism or colonialism, and from that time in all the speeches he has made, which I have read, he has made anti-imperialism the paramount feature of his political creed. Without impeaching the sincerity of his view against imperialism, as I understand it, or colonialism, when the time comes to decide that question, I have thought, and do think, that it was an attempt to make an issue where there is no issue, apparently born out of the necessity to obscure in some respects the issues of 1896.

For I insist, Mr. President, that *there is not in this day, nor has there been, any legitimate foundation for an issue of imperialism and antimperialism.*

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, I am loath to interrupt the Senator, but I think I ought to remind him, if he will allow me, that—

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. TELLER. The question of imperialism was raised by Republicans long before Mr. Bryan said anything about it, and it was raised in this Chamber.

Mr. SPOONER. Ah, but those were the men who thought that the ratification of the treaty constituted imperialism and committed the country to it.

Mr. TELLER. Mr. President, they contended that the ratification of the treaty meant what they are now contending this Administration intends to do. Every contention they make to-day the members of the Republican party who are contending against what they call imperialism have made in this Chamber and stated that that would be the result of the ratification.

Mr. SPOONER. Ah, but, Mr. President, no man who helped to ratify the treaty is justified in denouncing that as imperialism or in asserting that by the ratification of that treaty the country became committed to the doctrine of imperialism.

Mr. TELLER. I will not allow the Senator to assert or to insinuate that I—

Mr. SPOONER. That remark could not refer to the Senator.

Mr. TELLER. Very well, then. Mr. President, I voted to ratify the treaty. I never regretted that I voted for it. I want to say that it is an unfair position for the Senator to take to charge that Mr. Bryan is the author of what is called anti-imperialism in this country.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. Bryan is the most conspicuous and powerful leader of the Democratic party at this time, and he has done more, in the way of public speeches and writings, in attack upon what he calls imperialism than any other man in the country, and that is manifestly what he seeks and has sought to make



the principal issue in the campaign upon which we are shortly to enter.

I did not refer to my friend from Colorado. I voted for the treaty myself, and I stated before I voted for it that if I thought it committed this country to permanent dominion in the Philippines I should vote against it. What I mean to say, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction, is that there is no issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism now, Mr. President, except it be made for party and political purposes.

Where is the issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism? Upon what foundation of fact does it or can it rest now? Who has proposed imperialism in the Philippine Archipelago? Who could speak under the Constitution upon that subject? The President has had but one policy, and that is the policy of an executive. It is the policy to carry forward into execution the law. We ratified the treaty. We might have rejected it. We take our share of the responsibility for laying that foundation. We had passed the military bill. We had placed these soldiers at his command, knowing and intending, Mr. President, that he should use them, that he would use them to assert and maintain the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago.

Now, Mr. President—

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. That is territory of the United States.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. Who can *dispose of it*? The President? No. The President has made no speech in which, as I recollect it, he did not assert that the power of disposition is in Congress. He says in his last annual message that the whole power of government there is in Congress. The Constitution provides that Congress shall have power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory of the United States." The President can not do it. It is for Congress to do it. It is for Congress to say whether we will withdraw our Army from the Philippines or not, whether we will cede the Philippines or not, how we will govern the Philippines if we retain them, or how long we shall retain them. It is not for the President to say, nor has he arrogated to himself that function.

That power to "dispose of" the Philippines is a *continuing power*, Mr. President. It is not one that is lost by failure to exercise it this year or next year. It does not lapse by nonuser. It is not one that can be exercised by declaratory resolutions. It is one which requires legislation. Has there been any? Has there been any proposition of the kind? Not until the Senator from South Dakota introduced his amendment here a day or two ago, that I have known of.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

Mr. SPOONER. In the years to come, Mr. President, if there shall be a time when the Philippine people, having under our tutelage and guidance been uplifted, having by years of participation in local government become familiar in a way with that science; when education shall have been more largely diffused in the islands; when they have come to know, as they will come to know, that we are their friends, not their enemies; when, in the opinion of the intelligent, patriotic people of the United States, the Philippine people are capable of self-government, capable of maintaining a government which will discharge the duties of a government, which will protect life and liberty and property, which, if you please, can discharge the obligations between nations, then, Mr. President, *if they want independence, and there shall be a party in this country which says "yes," and a party in this country which says "no, we will govern them forever as a territory or colony," that will be an issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism.* It can not come until then, and it can not be settled unless and until it shall have come. It is not here now.

Mr. TILLMAN. Mr. President—

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. CHANDLER in the chair). Does the Senator from Wisconsin yield to the Senator from South Carolina?

Mr. SPOONER. I must decline to yield, Mr. President. I hope my friend will pardon me, but that issue, I say again, Mr. President, is not here now except for party and partisan purposes. It is a forced and fictitious issue, Mr. President, and nothing else, and it is a baleful issue; it is a wicked issue. I speak only for myself. I represent no man's opinions here but my own, so far as I know; but, Mr. President, the utterances upon that alleged issue in this country, the agitation as to what in time to come shall be done with the Philippine people, has been in the highest degree harmful to our soldiery and embarrassing and obstructive in the discharge of Executive duty. It is my opinion that it has prolonged the insurrection; it is my opinion that it has cost millions of money and cost many, many lives. And that, too, when there is no such issue before the people, and when no party can rightly make it an issue now.

It was the duty, as I said the other day, of every man to say what he thought should be said upon that subject of ratification regard-

less of the effect it might have anywhere. But that is not the situation to-day. That has not been the situation any day since that treaty was ratified and since hostilities broke out in the Philippines. There are issues enough without this feigned issue. Has it done harm? Has it done good, I might rather ask? Almost every utterance, Mr. President, of a conspicuous man against what is termed "Imperialism" has been translated into the Spanish and circulated among the insurrectionists; and it would have been none different whatever in its effect if a great political party in this country had sent a message to them, "Maintain your insurrection until after the election, and if we succeed at the polls we will give you independence."

I received from a commander in the Navy the other day, to illustrate what I mean, this paper. A city of 17,000 people had just been captured over there by our Army, and in the *offing* were two vessels of the Navy. Some of the officers with marines went to the city. I only mention this to show how closely they follow public opinion and utterances in the United States. They found posted up in conspicuous places around that city this poster in Spanish. I have here the translation of it, an effort against what is called imperialism, against what is characterized as brutal policy on the part of the United States, a willingness to subjugate a people and to hold them in slavery.

[Translation of circular or proclamation.]

From the provincial chief of this province received to-day, the 9th of December, the tenor of which is as follows:

I have the great pleasure of informing your excellencies that you may in your town cause to be publicly known that data according to the foreign newspapers very strongly favorable to the independence of our fatherland exists in the fact that the party of the North American people which calls itself the Democratic party, preserving unimpaired its ancient principles and traditional institutions by which it obtained in the past century the independence of its own country, emancipating it from England, sustains and defends to-day with ardor the declaration independence of the Philippines and that the Massachusetts periodical having the widest circulation among the agriculturists of the country known under the name of *The Farm and Home*—

*The Farm and Home.* Does the Senator from Massachusetts know that paper?

Mr. LODGE. I do.

Mr. SPOONER (reading)—

*The Farm and Home*, having interested its subscribers in the subject, asked that they manifest themselves in favor of the independence of the Philippines or their annexation with the following results:

Section.	For independence.	For annexation.
New England.....	1,277	.785
Middle States.....	8,888	2,343
Central West.....	4,901	3,102
Southern States.....	1,792	1,083
Pacific coast.....	1,684	1,103
Total.....	18,524	8,416

May Providence decree that in the election for the President of the United States the Democratic party, which defends us, shall triumph, and not the imperialistic party, which is headed by Mr. McKinley, and which attacks us.

I presume this was all over the Philippines—

The great Democrat, Dr. Bryan, one of the most eminent men of the United States, is assured that he will be the future President, and then our happy hours begin. There have also been celebrated in New York and Chicago great meetings and banquets in honor of our dearly beloved president, Sr. Aguinaldo, who was entitled one of the world's true heroes.

The masses who have thus voted in our favor have done the same with reference to Cuba, asking her independence, for which she is already to-day struggling.

Finally, the conduct of the Filipino annexationists condemns itself. They have changed their flag as they change their shirts, and are animated solely by momentary lust of stolen gold; but by their own vile conduct, aided by their thieving country, they are only raising their own scaffold.

God guard your excellencies many years.

Guinabatan, December 4, 1899.

Sig. DOMINGO SAMSON.

I have here a number of extracts translated from *La Independencia*, published in the Philippines. I will read but a few of them:

AN ADVERSARY OF MCKINLEY.

Mr. Bryan, the competitor of McKinley in the last Presidential election and the candidate selected for the future by the Democratic party, has published a manifesto which has caused a profound sensation in the United States.

Mr. Bryan announces himself decidedly opposed to the imperial policy of the Government, and shows the danger in which American institutions will be placed by this entirely new ambition for colonization. \* \* \* He asks that the régime instituted in Cuba be applied to all the territory taken from Spain. \* \* \*

To place the American yoke on the millions of natives who wish to be free, 200,000 men will be needed. \* \* \* February 2, 1899.

A great popular meeting was held in New York on February 23 to protest against the imperialistic policy of the United States. March 8, 1899.

BRYAN SPEAKS.

Mr. Bryan \* \* \* declared at a great meeting at Denver that the United States could not institute a colonial policy. "Imperialism," he said, "may increase our territory, but it will lower our ideals. It is a step backward, etc." March 28, 1899.

Mr. PETTIGREW. May I ask the Senator from what he is reading?

Mr. SPOONER. I am reading an extract from a newspaper



published in the Philippines and supported by Aguinaldo called *La Independencia*.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Senator permit me to ask if he is reading from the original paper?

Mr. SPOONER. I can not read from the original paper, as that is in Spanish.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator is reading a translation?

Mr. SPOONER. Yes; a translation.

Mr. ALLEN. By whom was the translation the Senator is reading made?

Mr. SPOONER. By an officer of the Army.

Mr. ALLEN. Did the Senator get it from the officer who translated it?

Mr. SPOONER. No, sir; I did not get it from the officer who translated it.

Mr. ALLEN. Has the Senator any knowledge of the genuineness of the translation?

Mr. SPOONER. I only know that it was translated in the War Department and given me as a correct translation. The papers are all in the War Department. I saw them there.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the Senator hold Mr. Bryan responsible for what that translation states?

Mr. SPOONER. That is not what I am saying. So far as that is concerned, what the paper states is substantially a fact.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not doubt that the Senator thinks so; but I hope the Senator will not snap at me quite so savagely.

Mr. SPOONER. I did not mean to be offensive, and I hope the Senator is not alarmed.

Mr. ALLEN. Before the Senator scares me entirely away I wish to ask him if he has seen a translation of the speech which was made by the junior Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE], which was cabled to Manila, translated into Spanish, and circulated among the Filipinos as conclusive evidence that this Government never did intend to give those people their liberty?

Mr. SPOONER. I have not.

Mr. ALLEN. But the Senator recognizes that that was done, does he not?

Mr. SPOONER. I do not know it.

Mr. TILLMAN. I have seen that statement made.

Mr. ALLEN. I understood it was done, and I have as good authority for saying that it was done as the Senator has for what he says.

Mr. SPOONER. I think not.

Mr. ALLEN. Indeed, I have.

Mr. SPOONER. In the first place, these statements imputed to Mr. Bryan and other gentlemen were, in substance, made here in public. There is no doubt about that; and they were cabled over there. I am not assuming now that it was ever the purpose of anyone here to make trouble over there, nor do I believe such a thing, of course. I am only saying that this agitation and these utterances upon an alleged issue, which does not exist, have done and will do great mischief. That is all.

Mr. ALLEN. I am trying to find out as to the facts. I am not prepared to affirm or disaffirm what the Senator says; but what authority has the Senator for placing before the Senate and the world these statements which he has presented as authentic?

Mr. SPOONER. I place them before the Senate as authentic because they were given to me, and I think they are correct translations. The Senator can find the paper at the War Department and translate it for himself.

Mr. ALLEN. No; I can not.

Mr. SPOONER. And verify the correctness of the translation.

Mr. ALLEN. I regret to say that I only know one language, and that very imperfectly; and so I would not know anything about it if I had the papers; but the Senator, being an English and a Spanish scholar as well, I suppose, could probably have compared these translations with the original text, and would be able to supply that hiatus in the proof.

Mr. SPOONER. To whom is the Senator referring?

Mr. ALLEN. I am referring to the senior Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I am not a Spanish scholar.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought the Senator was.

I have always given the Senator credit for knowing all about languages and about a great many other things, and I always interrupt him with a great deal of diffidence, knowing his universal knowledge compared with the feeble amount of information that I have been able to pick up.

When I take occasion to interrupt the Senator it is as to things that come to my mind in the course of debate, and I want to know the connection of these things and the proof.

Mr. SPOONER. I have stated to the Senator that I can show him the paper, and if he thinks this is not a correct translation he can bring it to the attention of the country.

Mr. ALLEN. The burden is upon the Senator to prove that the translation is correct. When the Senator introduces a document in evidence he must lay the foundation by proving that it

is genuine, and tracing the proofs step by step up to the document which he seeks to introduce; and now the Senator proposes that I shall assume the burden of disproving the genuineness of the document that he seeks to introduce. I decline that invitation.

Mr. SPOONER. I went to the War Department to get the correct translation, and the Senator ought to go there if he thinks it is not a correct translation and verify it.

Mr. ALLEN. I shall not go to the War Department. I have no business at the War Department.

Mr. SPOONER. This is business.

Mr. ALLEN. I know it is, but possibly if I went to the War Department, with this lingering suspicion upon my mind, the opportunity of ascertaining the correctness or incorrectness of the translation would not be as open to me as to the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. SPOONER. I think, Mr. President, that is an entirely unjustifiable imputation upon the War Department. The Senator may think that, but I am satisfied he will find he is mistaken.

Mr. ALLEN. I do not mean to impute anything against the War Department, but the Senator knows human nature just as well as I.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, just to show further the effect in the Philippines of this agitation and the discussion of this attempted issue, which is not an issue, I read this, which was telegraphed from over there. The original was in Spanish, and I can not swear to the translation, but I should think it correct from its contents.

Mr. ALLEN. What does the Senator say about the issue?

Mr. SPOONER. I say that there is no issue of imperialism and anti-imperialism between the Republican party and the Democratic party, except as made by the Democratic party for campaign purposes.

Mr. ALLEN. I am not speaking for the Democratic party at all.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, the Populist party. I forgot that.

Mr. ALLEN. I am speaking for no party. Now, what is the attitude of the Republican party on that question?

Mr. SPOONER. The attitude of the Republican party is this, so far as I know: It is first to enforce and maintain the authority of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago.

Mr. ALLEN. And that being done, what follows?

Mr. SPOONER. To organize as speedily as possible civil governments there, adapted to the necessities of the different tribes and people; to give them honest courts of justice; to abolish—and that has already been done—the ecclesiastical courts, so that the friar may be brought to the ordinary court and tried as are other men for an offense which he commits; to protect life and liberty and property; to fill that country with schoolhouses—

Mr. ALLEN. And churches.

Mr. SPOONER. To give the people an opportunity for education; to be just and generous to those people, giving them participation in the local governments there as large as possible at first, and on increasing lines as they may show themselves fitted for it; to honestly expend the moneys collected from taxation there in their interests and for their benefit; to maintain laws there, Mr. President, so honestly and firmly that no man, however rich, shall be beyond their reach if he does wrong, and no man, however humble, shall be denied their support or protection if he is wronged.

Mr. ALLEN. I concur with the Senator in that.

Mr. SPOONER. In short, Mr. President, to carry to that people what they have never had before, and what the American flag always carries to a people—generosity, justice, liberty, and the blessings and advantages of our civilization as far and as fast as possible.

Mr. ALLEN. I heartily concur with everything the Senator says on that point.

Mr. SPOONER. Is there any imperialism in that?

Mr. ALLEN. I stand side by side with the Senator up to that point. Now, all these things being accomplished, what does the Senator propose to do with those islands?

Mr. SPOONER. All these things being accomplished—it will take some time to accomplish them—

Mr. ALLEN. Yes.

Mr. SPOONER. Doing our level best—

Mr. ALLEN. All the time.

Mr. SPOONER. It will take a long time to accomplish that.

Mr. ALLEN. Some years.

Mr. SPOONER. Some years—and the Senator is in favor of that?

Mr. ALLEN. It will take some years to do it.

Mr. SPOONER. Some years to do it—then, Mr. President, where is your issue of imperialism now?

Mr. ALLEN. What I ask the Senator, then, is—these years having passed by, having passed into eternity, all these things having been accomplished—what does the Senator propose to do with those islands?



Mr. SPOONER. I do not expect to be here. I say it is a wicked thing to attempt to make that issue now, with our Army in the field, and with work before us to which the Senator agrees, which will, even upon the Senator's own admission, take some years yet.

Mr. ALLEN. No; the Senator can not run away by saying—  
Mr. SPOONER. I run away from nobody.

Mr. ALLEN. No, I think not; but the Senator can not run away, metaphorically speaking, of course, from the argument by personalizing himself.

Mr. SPOONER. If the Senator will permit me, he was out when I submitted observations upon that subject.

Mr. ALLEN. Then, I will put the question differently. Is there ever a time, or will the time ever come in the history of the Philippines, all these things being accomplished, when those people will be allowed to erect an independent civil government for themselves?

Mr. SPOONER. I will restate, Mr. President, that in all these constant agitations and denunciations—and the Senator ought to know it, and those for whom he speaks ought to know it—the power to govern and dispose of the Philippine Archipelago is not in any Administration; it is not in any President, but, under the Constitution, it is in Congress. As I said before the Senator came in, what we are concerned about now is the discharge, in a manly way, of present duty. What will in the ultimate be the policy of the American people in the Philippine Archipelago is for the American people to say when that day comes. I do not hesitate to assert my conviction that when the day does come that the Philippine inhabitants have so far evidenced their ability to maintain a government—to discharge its functions—that they can safely be intrusted with independence, and they want it, the American people will give it to them.

Mr. ALLEN. Will the Republican party give it to them?

Mr. SPOONER. I am not talking about the Republican party.

Mr. ALLEN. I thought you were.

Mr. SPOONER. That is the trouble with all this business, Mr. President. It is party, party, party, and nothing else, and that is what I complain of.

Mr. ALLEN. The Senator has been arguing for his party for three days upon this subject.

Mr. SPOONER. I have not been arguing for my party, except in this sense: I have been attempting in a frank way to defend the Administration of my party against what I consider unjust accusations. That is proper.

Mr. ALLEN. I have put the Senator a fair question.

Mr. SPOONER. Yes.

Mr. ALLEN. It will only take one of two words to answer it. Does the Republican party propose at any time, if it is in power, all these things and all these blessings to which the Senator has referred having been accomplished, to give those people an independent government?

Mr. SPOONER. I can not speak for the Republican party.

Mr. ALLEN. That question is capable of an answer.

Mr. SPOONER. Does the Democratic party propose to do that?

Mr. ALLEN. I do not know anything about the Democratic party.

Mr. SPOONER. Well, does the Populist party propose to do it?

Mr. ALLEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPOONER. Then why have they not said so?

Mr. ALLEN. They have said so in their platform recently at Sioux Falls, as the Senator will see by a reference to it.

Mr. SPOONER. When are they going to do it?

Mr. ALLEN. Just as soon as the matter can be adjusted between the two governments.

Mr. SPOONER. Adjusted between what two governments?

Mr. ALLEN. Adjusted as between the two peoples. In the first place, when the Populist party is in power it will not be too cowardly to do this.

Mr. SPOONER. Between what two governments?

Mr. ALLEN. The United States and the Philippine Islands?

Mr. SPOONER. But an island is not a government.

Mr. ALLEN. I think I know something about the attitude there. I will say "the Philippine people," if that will suit the Senator better.

Mr. SPOONER. Very well.

Mr. ALLEN. The Populist party would do what the Republican party will never do, in my judgment. There will never be an offer to adjust the differences between this people and that people so long as the Republican party is in power until we shoot down every man in those islands.

Mr. SPOONER. Oh!

Mr. ALLEN. The Populist party would offer to those people the blessings of civil liberty immediately. It would not go to them with shot and shell and sword and bayonet and artillery, but would go to them with a mission of peace, and by peaceful means put them upon their feet, making for them a government, and

sustaining them against all the encroachments of Europe; but the Republican party, full and drunken and intoxicated with power, with greed, with lust of empire, never will do anything of that kind.

Mr. SPOONER. I do not think the Republican party is very much intoxicated. I do not assume to say what the Republican party will do in five years from now, and I do not think the Senator has any warrant for saying what the Democratic party will do five years from now, or what the Populist party will do five years from now. We can not proceed upon mere speculation. I am content with discharging present duty.

Mr. ALLEN. So am I.

Mr. SPOONER. I want to maintain the authority of the United States in the Philippines. Does not the Senator?

Mr. ALLEN. So long as we have any right in the Philippine Islands, I want to maintain the authority of the United States there. I have said so months and months ago in this Chamber, and I say so now; but I do not want to go to those people with guns, and swords, and bayonets, and munitions of war, without first going to them with a mission of peace, with a full assurance that if they surrender their arms and cease their contention against the sovereignty of the United States, which is there for the time being, they shall be made an independent people with an independent constitution, just exactly as God has determined, in my judgment, that every free people should be. I would do that first.

Mr. SPOONER. Mr. President, I decline to be further interrupted, for I must finish my speech.

Mr. ALLEN. I beg the Senator's pardon for having interrupted him.

Mr. SPOONER. I was saying that the Republican party is in favor of discharging present duty. There is a plain pathway before us, Mr. President, and that is to maintain authority in the Philippine Islands, and to use that as the foundation for the creation there of a government. It can only be done in that way, and already, Mr. President, although that people have been prejudiced against us—prejudiced by the friars, prejudiced by the Spanish soldiery who are left there, prejudiced in every conceivable way, prejudiced by utterances in the United States, suggesting that we intend to put them into slavery and under a yoke—we are winning, as rapidly as we could expect, their confidence and their respect, and we should proceed with that work. We shall win it, because we will deserve it.

While I can not speak for the Republican party in the future, any more than another Senator can speak for the Democratic party or the Populist party in the future, I repeat that when the day shall come that that people is fitted to maintain an independent government—one which can discharge its international obligations; one which can protect life, liberty, and property at home—and the question is, whether they shall have it, if they want it, or whether we shall keep them forever in the condition of dependence or territorial government; I have no doubt that the American people—Democrats, and Republicans, and Populists—will say that they shall have it, and, with all that, I never expect the American flag to come down in the Philippine Islands.

This is consistent with all I have said. Having the title, we can, in anything the people may do as to the Philippines in the future, make such reservations to ourselves, or exceptions, as are right and needful for safeguarding our interests in the Orient. We can have there naval stations for our war ships, a safe resting place for our Pacific commerce, and our flag as it floats there will forever be evidence to the world of our interest in the archipelago, and our interest in its people.

I was saying, Mr. President—and I ought not to have consented to these interruptions—that there is no such issue here now, and, practically, the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. ALLEN] admits it. In October, 1879, Aguinaldo published a signed manifesto in *La Independencia* in which he said—

*"We ask God that he may grant the triumph of the Democratic party in the United States, which is the party which defends the Philippines, and that Imperialism may cease from its mad idea of subduing us with its arms."*

I will read another evidence of the malign influence over there of this agitation upon a vain and false issue for political purposes. Here is a captured document translated into English:

[Telegram.]

In the United States meetings and banquets have been held in honor of our honorable President, Don Emilio Aguinaldo, who was proclaimed by Mr. Bryan, the future President of the United States, as one of the heroes of the world.

The Masonic society, interpreting the unanimous desire of the people, together with the Government, organizes a meeting and popular assembly in this capital in favor of the national independence, which will take place on Sunday the 29th, in honor of Mr. Bryan and the anti-imperialist party which defends our cause in the United States.

All the Masons and all the Filipino people are called to take part in this solemn act. The meeting will be composed of three parts: First. At 8 in the morning on the 29th, a gathering in an appropriate place will take place, which will begin by singing the national hymn; then appropriate speeches will be read. Second: At midday a banquet will take place in the palace in honor of Mr. Bryan, who will be



represented by American prisoners. Third. At 4 in the afternoon a popular manifestation will take place every where—the people will decorate and illuminate their houses, bands of music will pass through the streets.

[SEAL.]

TARLAC, October 27, 1899.

THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

To all the provincial, local, and military commanders in this capital, Nuncia Capas, Bangbang, Gerona, Panique, and Victoria, the president of the audiencia of Bayambang, and the editor of *La Independencia*.

I certify that this translation is correct, to the best of my belief.

JOHN K. M. TAYLOR,

Captain, Fourteenth Infantry, in charge insurgent records.

MANILA, February 23, 1900.

Here is the Spanish telegram:

ASAMBLEA DE MUJERES.

Se verificara el 2 de Noviembre de 1899, en el Teatro de Tarlac.

En honor de la Independencia patria y del pueblo americano que simpatiza con la nacion Filipina.

Programa.

Primera parte.

(6 mañana.)

Diana—Las bandas de musica recorreran la poblacion.

(8 mañana.)

Acto inaugural—Marcha Nacional.

Discurso de apertura por la Presidenta.

Lectura de telegramas.

Discursos y poesias.

Donativos para los heridos en campana.

HIMNO: AGUINALDO—BRYAN.

Paso doble: La Independencia.

Segunda parte.

(4 tarde.)

Manifestacion popular.

Here is another:

FILIPINO REPUBLIC, Secretary of Foreign Affairs:

Wishing to hold a meeting in the morning of Sunday next in the Presidential Palace of this republic to correspond with the one held in the United States by Mr. Bryan, who toasted our honorable president as one of the heroes of the world, and with the object of carrying this out with the utmost pomp and with contributing by the presence of your subordinates to its greater splendor, I would be obliged if you would come to see me for a conference upon this matter.

May God keep you many years.

Tarlac, October 26, 1899.

FELIPE BUENCAMINO,

The Secretary.

The SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR.

Here is the telegram from the secretary of war, Tarlac:

[Telegram. Reg. No. 32.]

No. 612. Rs. 70.

DE DAGUPAN, 1.34 p. m.

Ba. 29 de 10 de 1899. fs. 11.30 el office de Guerra.

MONSON.

SECRETARY OF WAR, Tarlac:

Provincial Chief Zambales. Received your circular by telegraph yesterday. Was received with great animation and patriotic enthusiasm by the people gathered in a great reunion in government house. We had early this morning a gathering of civil and military officers and private persons to celebrate the independence of the country and in honor of Mr. Bryan, and at 4 p. m. we shall have the second part of the meeting. We all join in congratulating our honorable president, the government, and the army.

I read these, Mr. President, not to impute the purpose to anyone in this country to do harm over there to our Army, for I know that is not true, but to show that this agitation against the Republican party as an imperialistic party, and against the President of the United States, now Commander in Chief of the Army, as a man of ambition, with a lust for empire, regardless of the liberty of others, and the attitude of the Democratic party as favoring the independence of that people, is known over there and acted upon over there.

Mr. President, I beg leave to say that it furnishes much warrant for the belief that General Lawton wrote that letter, because it furnishes evidence that on the issue of imperialism or anti-imperialism, if the Republican party is defeated at the next election, it is expected that independence will go at once to the Philippine republic, so called, and it conveys to them and furnishes to them the strongest imaginable motive for continuing their insurrection.

The first thing to do is what we are doing to-day—to put an end to the insurrection, to lay the foundation of peace for the victories and blessings of peace, and to try this question of imperialism, if it ever arises in the United States, when it arises, and at least to be silent upon it while our Army is in the field to be injured by it. That is the way I feel about it, and I believe that is the way the American people will feel about it. I think they will not be deceived by this talk of imperialism and anti-imperialism. They may listen to your talk during the campaign about the violated Declaration of Independence, about the Constitution being trampled upon; they may seem to hear you, but they will realize that there is no such issue in this campaign, and they will be thinking of the men over there who are suffering and in danger partly as a consequence of the attempt here to obscure one issue by manufacturing another.

Mr. President, when I introduced this bill there were two resolutions pending before the Senate. One was the resolution in-

troduced by the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE], declaring that we own the Philippines and will retain them, and establish such government there as we may deem best. I could not vote for that resolution. If we own the Philippines, a mere declaration that we own them adds nothing to our title. If we do not own them such a declaration will not make them ours. This Congress can not bind any subsequent Congress, and a declaration that we intend to hold the Philippines forever binds no subsequent Congress, and is merely an empty declaration.

The other resolution pending is that introduced by the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON]. It is based upon the theory that we acquired title by the cession and have completed it by subsequent possession. It contemplates that the authority of the United States shall be maintained there until armed resistance to it shall have ceased in said islands and peace and order shall have been restored, and it declares that when a stable government shall, through the agency of the United States, have been created by the people of the islands, "competent and worthy, in the judgment of the United States, to exercise the powers of an independent government, and to preserve peace and maintain order within its jurisdiction, it is the purpose and intention of the United States," reserving certain harbors and tracts of land for coaling stations, etc., to transfer to said government, upon terms which shall be reasonable and just, all right and territory secured in said islands under the treaty with Spain, and to thereupon leave the dominion and control of said islands to their people.

While approving much in this resolution, Mr. President, I can not vote for it. I refused to vote for the McEnery resolution, which passed the Senate, because of the conditions of that day, and my belief that it would be unproductive of good and only fruitful of mischief.

I oppose the resolution of the Senator from Georgia, among other things, because it is not legislation. It is not an exercise of any power which the Constitution confers upon Congress. It does not dispose of the Philippine Archipelago. It is ineffective. It is only declaratory. It projects into the future a promise which we have no power to make, to be redeemed or left unredeemed by succeeding Congresses. No one can know when the year will come for the fulfillment of this pledge. Inevitably, upon the theory of the resolution, its redemption will require years.

It will doubtless be years before a government can be formed in the Philippines by the people "competent and worthy in the judgment of the United States to exercise the powers of an independent government." In the intervening time this moral obligation would be outstanding. The ambitious Philippine leaders would impress upon the people that the pledge was ripe for redemption; that the government was "competent and worthy to be independent," and would be sincere in that belief. That they would differ with the United States upon that subject is as certain as that the day will follow the night. That there would be controversy and dispute over it is inevitable. Gentlemen of great name and ability have stated that they are now fit for self-government.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Dewey said so.

Mr. SPOONER. He said they were better fitted for self-government than the Cubans. That is all I have ever heard imputed to him upon the subject.

Senators have stated here that they possessed a government before the outbreak of hostilities entitled to be recognized, with a constitution, a congress, and courts, and colleges. Whether, left to themselves, these evidences of civilization would have been afforded by the Filipinos I do not know. To me they are the only evidences of good government left by Spain in the archipelago.

That they are unfit for self-government now I think is overwhelmingly demonstrated.

I can not doubt, in view of the entire situation, that they would differ with us as to their qualifications for independent government, and that out of the fulfillment of this Congressional promise, if it were made, there would arise trouble, agitation, charges of repudiation and bad faith, and possibly insurrection, with its burdens and complications.

Why project into the future such a promise? It is not needful, unless Senators are afraid to trust the people. May not the decision of this question be safely left to the American people? Senators need not fear that they will be wanting in love of liberty, in regard for the Declaration of Independence, or in loyalty to the Constitution. It is not needful for the Congress of to-day to protect the American people by pledges of this sort against themselves in settling the questions of the future.

As to the bill which I introduced, I claim for it nothing of originality. It has been read by the Senator from South Carolina. It is legislation. It is fashioned after the Louisiana bill. It is fashioned after the Hawaiian resolution. It deals with the situation as it is. It is very short. It assumes our sovereignty there. It recognizes that we acquired the archipelago by



the treaty. It assumes the fact that we will enforce obedience to our authority over there, and then provides, after the war shall have ended, for a government by the President through his appointees, (not to be permanent, not to make the President a pro-consul) until *Congress shall otherwise provide*.

I would vote for it whoever occupied the Presidential chair, whatever party he came from, because the Senate knows we have not the information as to the conditions over there to enable us to pass a government bill now. There are eighty-four tribes. Some of them are hostile to each other. We know very little of them. We do not know what form of government is adapted to that people. The President has the power now and it will continue until Congress acts, under the war power, to establish a government and maintain it.

My purpose in this bill was first to show to the people that the Congress is behind the Administration in the Philippines to meet it, if it might be met—the belief which has been created over there that the people of this country are not behind the Administration and the Army. Moreover, I thought that Congress ought to put this measure of authority behind the President, when insurrection shall have been suppressed, in governing a people seven thousand miles away, ten million of comparative strangers. To leave it all to his war power seemed to me unjust. That was all. It was no play for politics. It was not to shelve any question or to evade any question. It is upon the theory which I have asserted here to-day, that there is no issue here of imperialism or anti-imperialism.

Mr. President, in my heart I believe that. Thus far it has been largely force, not subjugation, but subduing insurrection, from my standpoint. We know comparatively little of that people. General Otis says in a recent interview:

We are spending \$300,000 now in roadmaking and could spend hundreds of thousands more most advantageously. The Filipinos are enthusiastic about roads, the construction of which gives employment to many of them. If it was possible to grant franchises for railroads, it would be a good thing, but all that will come in time. Roads and good schools are better.

It is astonishing how eager these people are for schools. They are clamoring for them everywhere. We bought \$40,000 worth of books and have exhausted the supply of Spanish-English primers. I told some prominent Filipinos that they must wait for a new supply, but they said no, and suggested that we give English instead of Spanish books, declaring that the children would learn very quickly. If I were to continue here and had my way, I would build schools everywhere. I would build a big two-story schoolhouse on that open lot in front of the first reserve hospital if it cost a million dollars. All this is hopeful.

I do not share altogether the view of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] as to that people. I believe they have aptitude for government. Bishop Potter says the children take to our soldiers as friends. He says they are anxious to learn. I have an abiding faith that when they come to know us, to understand us, when they feel our sense of justice, when they feel the protection which we will throw around them, when we build roads for them, when we furnish them with schoolbooks, they will accept the situation. A resigned army officer is now teaching school there, and he speaks in the very highest terms of the intelligence and the eagerness for instruction on the part of the Filipino children, and of their parents that they shall have it. If some Senators are right as to their capacity for self-government our task will be easier.

We have a difficult problem to solve. I wish it were not upon us. But we have had difficult problems before.

I believe before very many years that people, participating as we go along in local government, will have faith in us, and that they will be able to maintain at least an autonomous government, although for many, many years they will need our protection and our care and guidance. And the men who deliberately charge in high places that the flag of the United States is there as an emblem of slavery, that it is there for oppression, do great injustice to this nation and great injustice to the American people. Why not trust them?

Mr. PETTIGREW. Is the Constitution there with the flag?

Mr. SPOONER. Whether the Constitution is there with the flag or not, men are there under the flag who will give to that people every element of individual liberty which we have under the Constitution. Already under that flag by military order the habeas corpus has been put in operation throughout the archipelago. Already under that flag the ecclesiastical court, which was a court of oppression, has been abolished; and already that flag has carried to that people, as it always does carry to a people, liberty, protection, and honest, responsible government.

I have said nothing of the richness of the islands in mineral and other resources. I sincerely trust, for the benefit of the inhabitants, that the glowing story told of undeveloped wealth there is an understatement. I hope it for the sake of that people, and also as lightening the burden which duty seems to place upon us.

Mr. President, I have submitted to interruptions so that my speech has been discursive. I have not entirely followed the line which I should otherwise have done. Without purpose to be discourteous or unjust to anyone, I have said frankly what I believe. The President has left this matter to Congress. I want to read here an extract from his message as expressive not only of the views of the Administration, but of the American people, in

my judgment, for they will stand by an Executive doing his duty and by their Army wherever it is on duty, and will discountenance any policy which in this country is inaugurated, the effect of which will be to prolong insurrection or to endanger the lives of their soldiery.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Does the Senator mean to say they will stand behind it whether right or wrong?

Mr. SPOONER. Right or wrong, I say, they are behind it; but they are right. That is a question for the people to determine, not for the Senator. The President says in his message:

Until Congress shall have made known the formal expression of its will I shall use the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes to uphold the sovereignty of the United States in those distant islands as in all other places where our flag rightfully floats. I shall put at the disposal of the Army and Navy all the means which the liberality of Congress and the people have provided to cause this unprovoked and wasteful insurrection to cease.

If any orders of mine were required to insure the merciful conduct of military and naval operations, they would not be lacking; but every step of the progress of our troops has been marked by a humanity which has surprised even the misguided insurgents. The truest kindness to them will be a swift and effective defeat of their present leader. The hour of victory will be the hour of clemency and reconstruction.

No effort will be spared to build up the waste places desolated by war and by long years of misgovernment. We shall not wait for the end of strife to begin the beneficent work.

Nor has he waited.

We shall continue, as we have begun, to open the schools and the churches, to set the courts in operation, to foster industry and trade and agriculture, and in every way in our power to make these people whom Providence has brought within our jurisdiction feel that it is their liberty and not our power, their welfare and not our gain, we are seeking to enhance. Our flag has never waved over any community but in blessing. I believe the Filipinos will soon recognize the fact that it has not lost its gift of benediction in its world-wide journey to their shores.

Mr. ALLEN. Does the President anywhere in his message say that at any time they shall have a free and independent government?

Mr. SPOONER. The President is President; he does not claim to be a prophet; he leaves to the future what belongs to the future, but what he says there is the language of patriotism. It is the language of philanthropy. It interprets the genius of our institutions. It is in harmony with the nature of the man and with his career. There is in it nothing but goodwill, nothing but kindness. There is in it nothing of exploitation. There is in it nothing of commercialism. There is in it nothing of imperialism. We are to go along. We will make mistakes. We will fall down, but we will pick ourselves up. We will cross bridges as we come to them, and when we come to streams without bridges we will build them. We will feel our way. We will go forward in a manful fashion, with a holy purpose to do what is just and generous and right.

No American has any right to doubt that. We will become acquainted with the conditions. We will teach those people to know us. We will give them every opportunity in the school of government. We will govern them, not for our benefit, but for theirs, and in the end the day will come, in my opinion, and I believe it will be sooner than I once thought it would be, when that people, with confidence in us and friendship for us, with prosperity among them, with an appreciation of liberty, with some knowledge of what government is, will be able to maintain an autonomous or independent government; and when that day comes I doubt not the American people, of all parties, will promptly accord it to them.

If, Mr. President, in the end it shall come about that through the Spanish-American war we shall have liberated Cuba from the tyranny of Spain, enabled its people to erect an independent government, stable and strong; have made happy and prosperous the people of Porto Rico, and in the far-away Pacific have brought a nonhomogeneous people together into one people, educated them for self-government or independence and given it to them, though it shall have cost much of patience, of trouble, and of sacrifice, we shall have wrought out a consummation more glorious, and afforded a nobler evidence of what a liberty-loving people can and will do for liberty, than has ever before been seen in the history of the world. [Applause in the galleries.]

Mr. MORGAN obtained the floor.

Mr. TELLER. Will the Senator from Alabama yield to me for a moment?

Mr. MORGAN. Certainly.

Mr. TELLER. I understand that the Senator from Alabama proposes to address the Senate on the pending measure. I wish to give notice that when he has finished I shall ask the Senate to allow me to take the floor.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. President, I have been waiting here for fifty days to get an opportunity to express some views upon this very important bill, which I conceive to be far more important than any bill that has been presented on the subject of our insular possessions since we acquired them. Two speeches have been delivered by distinguished Senators in favor of the bill, covering four days of time, and no word has as yet been heard from anyone who is opposed to it, as I am. I have prepared my remarks in writing in order that they might be accurate and exact in form



and in substance, and in order that I might possibly escape some of those annoyances of interruption which are interjected into speeches here for one reason and another, and which break up the continuity of argument and destroy the legitimate effect of any discussion upon a question so grave as the one now before the Senate.

I understand from the Senator from Iowa, the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, that he has asked the Senate to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock for the purpose of taking up an appropriation bill. I wish to ask that Senator if he will not make a request of the Senate now that at the conclusion of the morning business to-morrow this bill may be laid before the Senate so that I may make my remarks, which I will read, and therefore they will be within a short compass comparatively, and after that the Senator can proceed with his appropriation bill.

Mr. ALLISON. Mr. President, if that is the wish of the Senator from Alabama, of course I shall be glad to accede to it. I made the motion for the Senate to meet to-morrow at 11 o'clock in order that some time during the day I might have an opportunity of calling up the sundry civil appropriation bill.

Mr. MORGAN. If that is agreeable to the chairman of the committee, who reported the pending bill, or to the gentlemen in control of it, I hope the order will be taken.

Mr. LODGE. It is entirely agreeable to me.

Mr. MORGAN. I ask that an order may be taken that at the conclusion of the routine morning business to-morrow this bill may be laid before the Senate for the purpose of enabling me to complete my remarks.

Mr. ALLEN. The present bill?

Mr. MORGAN. The present bill.

Mr. ALLEN. I think that ought to be done.

Mr. TELLER. There will be no objection.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Alabama asks unanimous consent that immediately after the routine morning business is completed to-morrow the unfinished business shall be laid before the Senate in order that he may address the Senate. Is there objection?

Mr. ALLISON. There ought to be, in addition to that, an understanding that after the Senator from Alabama has concluded his observations—

Mr. PETTIGREW. To that I can not consent. To that I object.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator from Iowa make a request?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I am willing to consent that the Senator from Alabama shall go on at that time, but nothing further.

Mr. ALLISON. Very well; I will take my chances with the sense of the Senate on the appropriation bill to-morrow.

Mr. TELLER. I wish the Chair to put the request of the Senator from Alabama.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Alabama?

Mr. COCKRELL and others. No.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair hears none. The order is made.

Mr. TELLER. I wish to say that to-morrow, when the Senator from Alabama is ready to proceed, I shall feel at liberty to object to any Senator interjecting any other business into the Senate.

Mr. LODGE. I will join the Senator in that.

Mr. TELLER. I give notice now so that no one may think I could be personal in making the objection.

Mr. ALLEN. Will that extend to all debates on this question? Mr. President, I hope it is not anticipated that when the Senator from Alabama concludes his remarks we are then to pass from this measure to something else.

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION.

Mr. SULLIVAN. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business. After five minutes spent in executive session the doors were reopened, and (at 6 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, May 25, 1900, at 11 o'clock a. m.

#### NOMINATIONS.

*Executive nominations received by the Senate May 24, 1900.*

##### APPOINTMENTS IN THE VOLUNTEER ARMY.

##### Thirty-third Infantry.

Sergt. Lamar G. Humphry, Company B, Thirty-third Infantry, United States Volunteers, to be second lieutenant, May 23, 1900, vice Pickel, promoted.

##### Forty-seventh Infantry.

Battalion Sergt. Maj. Starkey Y. Britt, Forty-seventh Infantry, United States Volunteers, to be second lieutenant, May 23, 1900, vice Jackson, deceased.

#### CONFIRMATIONS.

*Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate May 24, 1900.*

##### CONSUL.

John C. Freeman, of Wisconsin, to be consul of the United States at Copenhagen, Denmark.

##### CLAIMS COMMISSIONER.

William Glover Gage, of Michigan, to be the commissioner on the part of the United States under the conventions for a claims commission concluded between the United States and Chile, August 7, 1892, and May 24, 1897.

##### PROMOTIONS IN THE NAVY.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Thomas J. Senn, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 31st day of December, 1899.

Lieut. (Junior Grade) Jay H. Sypher, to be a lieutenant in the Navy, from the 11th day of January, 1900.

##### APPOINTMENT IN THE NAVY.

Charles Norman Fiske, a citizen of Massachusetts, to be an assistant surgeon in the Navy, from the 15th day of May, 1900.

##### REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE.

Lon E. Foote, of Arriba, Colo., to be register of the land office at Hugo, Colo.

##### POSTMASTERS.

Walter Price, to be postmaster at Westerly, in the county of Washington and State of Rhode Island.

E. S. Pierce, to be postmaster at Oxford, in the county of Lafayette and State of Mississippi.

Nannie B. Richardson, to be postmaster at Woodville, in the county of Wilkinson and State of Mississippi.

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

*THURSDAY, May 24, 1900.*

The House met at 11 o'clock a. m. Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. HENRY N. COUDEN, D. D.

The Journal of yesterday's proceedings was read and approved.

##### CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF ALASKA.

Mr. WARNER. I move that the House now resolve itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union for the further consideration of the special order—Senate bill 3419.

The motion was agreed to.

The House accordingly resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. JENKINS in the chair, and resumed the consideration of the bill (S. 3419) making further provision for the civil government of Alaska, and for other purposes.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. Chairman, before entering upon the further consideration of this bill I desire to state, as all members know, that it is a long and very important bill, and it is in the interest of the public that we have it disposed of by the House as soon as possible, in order that other important legislation may be considered during this session, and to that end I serve notice that, while I desire to be accommodating and to give every member of the House as much time as he should have in fairness to the public interest, I shall endeavor to enforce the five-minute rule impartially, and shall object to any member's time being extended beyond the five minutes on any question, and shall also object to any member speaking more than once upon any question before the committee, my object being to get through with this bill as rapidly as possible.

Mr. OLMSTED. I offer the amendment which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend by adding after the word "void," in line 23, page 25, the following: "And the Secretary of War shall have authority to grant permits general in character to citizens of the United States or persons who have legally declared their intention to become such to mine or dredge for gold or other precious metals below mean low tide, in such manner, however, that navigation shall not be obstructed."

Mr. OLMSTED. Mr. Chairman, on that wonderful beach at Cape Nome gold is found, as we all know, but there has been no adequate provision for the staking out of claims or the mining of the gold, particularly upon that portion of the beach which is covered with shallow water; therefore the Secretary of War has been issuing permits for that purpose under a provision of the act of 1899, which reads as follows:

It shall not be lawful to excavate or fill, or in any manner to alter or modify, the course, location, or condition or capacity of any port, roadstead, haven, harbor, canal, harbor of refuge, or inclosure within the limits of any breakwater, or the channel of any navigable water of the United States, unless the work has been recommended by the Chief of Engineers and authorized by the Secretary of War prior to the beginning of the same.

Now, it was contended in the Senate that excavation for gold does not constitute such a "work" as was contemplated by the act of 1899; and the Senate adopted a provision repealing all permits which had been granted and making special provision for